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Crossing the Rubicon: The Demise of Segregation and the Origins of Divergence in South Africa and the American South

Kyle Thomas Rector
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Kyle Thomas Rector entitled "Crossing the Rubicon: The Demise of Segregation and the Origins of Divergence in South Africa and the American South." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Geography.

Charles Aiken, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas Bell, Bruce Ralston, William Bruce Wheeler

Accepted for the Council:

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Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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Crossing the Rubicon

The Demise of Segregation and the Origins of Divergence
in South Africa and the American South

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee

Kyle Thomas Rector

May 2008

To Susan,

who loved me in spite
of the dissertation

Dis klaar!

Acknowledgments

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Abstract

South Africa and the American South have long shared historical and socioeconomic commonalities. Of these similarities, their histories of governmentally-mandated racial segregation are what most often led people to draw comparisons between the two areas. Likewise, South Africa and the American South for much of the 20th century were considered atypical or exceptional when compared to their geographically proximate neighbors. Hence, research by Fredrickson, Cell, Sparks, and others identify how these two areas, though halfway around the globe from one another, have mirrored and impacted one another.

With the demise of governmentally-mandated segregation in both areas, it is worth asking whether South Africa and the American South will continue to be similar to one another while being exceptional vis a vis their neighbors or whether this trait will fade. This dissertation uses a mixture of quantitatively-based research focusing on the cities of Bloemfontein, South Africa and Wilmington, North Carolina and more general qualitative analysis for South Africa and the American South to examine patterns of change

during the transition from segregation to post-segregation periods in each region. It is argued that the end of segregation in South Africa and the American South may well have irrevocably set them on diverging paths as each becomes increasingly like their geographically proximate neighbors.

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Section 1

Introduction

Chapter 1: Introduction

> The general election of September the 6th, 1989, placed our country irrevocably on the road of drastic change. Underlying this is the growing realisation by an increasing number of South Africans that only a negotiated understanding among the representative leaders of the entire population is able to ensure lasting peace. (De Klerk 1990)

With these words, South African State President F.W. De Klerk began his opening address to the Second Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa on February 2, 1990.[1] More importantly, De Klerk began an address that forever changed the course of South Africa. He denounced the system of apartheid, lifted the ban on apartheid opposition groups, including the African National Congress (ANC), and agreed to free Nelson Mandela from jail. Over the next four years, negotiations between the government and the newly unbanned opposition progressed. Between April 26-29, 1994, those efforts culminated in the first nationwide election open to all South Africans regardless of race and an end to systems of governmentally-

1 Sometimes referred to as the second Rubicon speech, De Klerk's address started a process that achieved the movement away from apartheid that had been promised in P.W. Botha's 1985 Rubicon speech but which was not achieved during Botha's tenure in office.

mandated (*de jure*) racial segregation that had dominated the country for more than 100 years.[2]

Thirty years before, a similar effort to overcome *de jure* segregation and guarantee enfranchisement without regard to race occurred in a place halfway around the globe from South Africa but in many ways quite similar. Culminating in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the ratification of the 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1964, this effort, much like the one in South Africa, forever changed the course of the American South.

An Introduction to the American South

The American South, as defined in this study, is the section within the United States comprised of eleven states that during the American Civil War joined together to form the Confederate States of America (Figure 1-1).[3] As of 1960, the American South had a population of approximately 41,000,000. Racially diverse, the American South was 75.6 percent white, 24.1 percent black, and 0.3 percent other

2 The term "South Africans" in this study refers to all citizens of the Republic of South Africa including the country's Asian, black, coloured, and white populations.

3 The eleven former Confederate states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

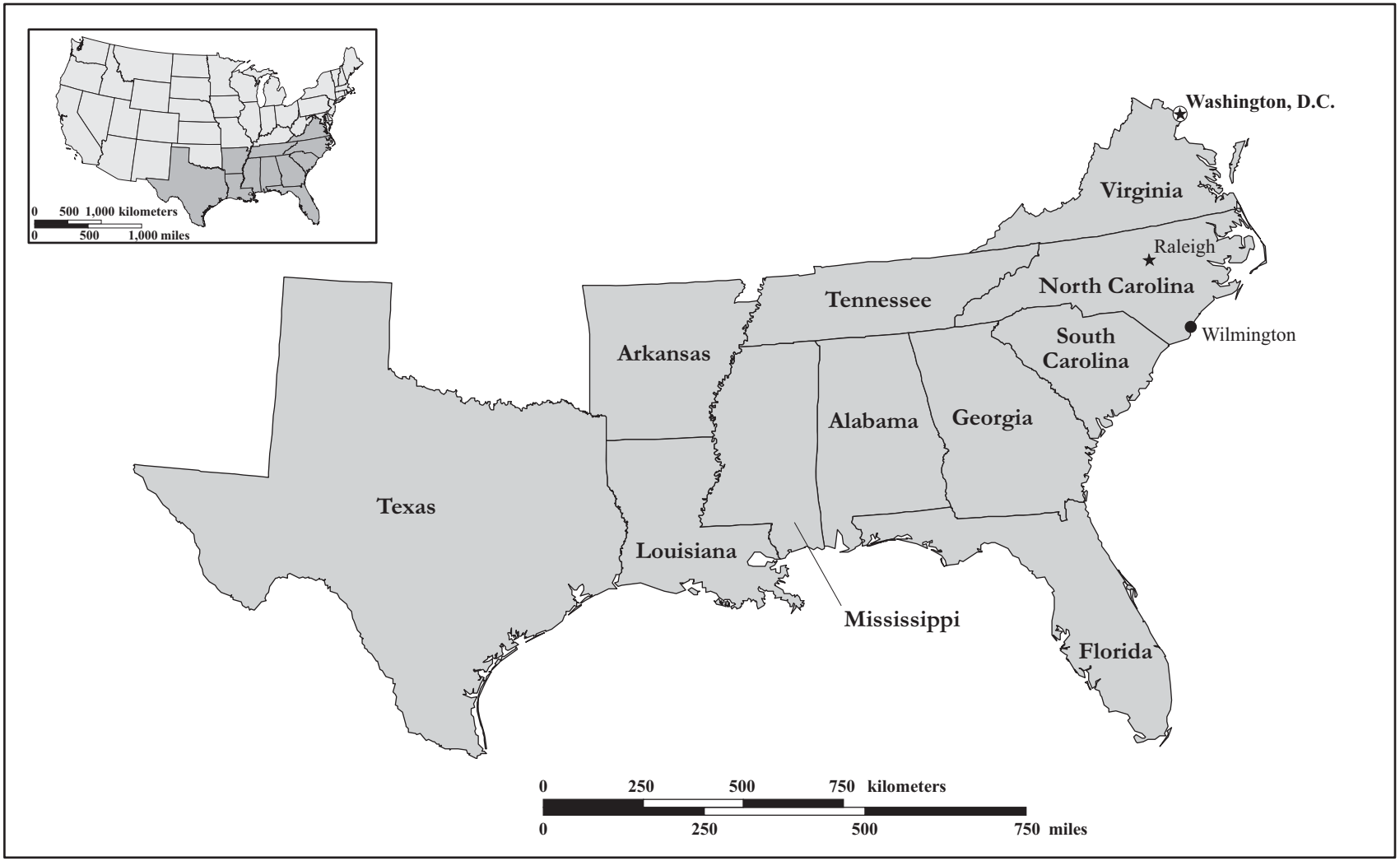

Figure 1-1: American South

(Statistical Abstract of the United States 1972: 28).

The American South's modern history began in 1607 with the founding of the first permanent British settlement in North America at Jamestown, Virginia. In 1776, colonies that comprise four of the 11 states within the American South joined with nine additional British colonies declaring their independence from Britain and establishing the United States of America. Between the late 1700s and 1860s, westward expansion of the United States led to the establishment of the seven remaining southern states. Between 1860 and 1865, the states of the American South seceded from the United States, fought and lost the Civil War, and were reincorporated into the United States. The Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1865 outlawed slavery, but racial segregation arose in its place in the late 19th century. *De jure* racial segregation was dismantled in the mid 20th century.

An Introduction to the Republic of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is situated on the southern tip of the continent of Africa (Figure 1-2). As of 1994, the country was divided into nine provinces and

Figure 1-2: South Africa

had a population of approximately 40,000,000. Racially diverse, as of 1994, the country was 76.1 percent black, 12.8 percent white, 8.5 percent coloured, and 2.6 percent Asian.[4] Linguistically, the country also is diverse with eleven official languages, of which in 1991 the most widely spoken were Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, and Zulu (Statistics South Africa 1995). The country has three capitals: Bloemfontein (judicial), Cape Town (legislative), and Pretoria (executive).

South Africa's modern history began in 1652 as a colony for the Dutch East India Company. In the early 1800s, the British replaced the Dutch as the colonial power. Slavery was abolished in South Africa between 1838 and 1840 (Davenport 1991: 41-42), but racial segregation arose in its place in the late 1800s. The current political boundaries were consolidated in 1910 with the formation of the Union of South Africa. The governmentally mandated form of segregation, known as apartheid, was established in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1961, South Africa severed its ties with the British Commonwealth

4 In South Africa, coloured refers to a population group of mixed racial ancestry of whom most speak Afrikaans as their home language. Asian refers to a population group primarily with ancestral ties to South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) of whom most speak English as their home language.

over the issue of apartheid and became the Republic of South Africa. Apartheid was dismantled during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Why Compare the American South and South Africa?

It may seem surprising that places halfway around the globe from one another would have much in common, but a review of historical and socioeconomic characteristics indicates that South Africa and the American South share a number of commonalities. While similar conditions include their status as former colonies of Western European powers, a historic economic reliance on agricultural and mining activities, long-standing racially mixed populations, and internal divisions that resulted in civil wars, it is the persistence of racial discrimination that normally leads people to draw comparisons between South Africa and the American South.

Racial discrimination has been a part of South African and American South history since their founding as colonies in the 17th century. Over the centuries, a wide range of discriminatory practices and systems have been used in South Africa and the American South including slavery, indentured servitude, and more recently *de jure*

segregation. But what exactly is segregation?

Segregation Defined

Horn (2005), relying upon work by Wilson (1987), Massey and Denton (1989), and Callaghan (2001), defines segregation as "an ongoing process, a temporal situation and a pattern of behavioral, structural, institutional and spatial divisions among ethnic groups that are often related to conditions of isolation, exclusion, and deprivation." Horn adds that "the opposite of segregation is conceptually more complex and therefore not so easily defined" (Horn 2005). In particular, Horn distinguishes between concepts such as the abolition of government policies mandating *de jure* segregation and *de facto* integration or assimilation of previously segregated populations. Within the context of this study, segregation relies upon the definition provided by Horn with the added notion that the system is enforced by government policy or enactments. Conversely, desegregation is viewed as the disestablishment or abandonment of the formal system of government policy or enactments that enforced segregation. Hence, desegregation removes the legal barriers to integration or assimilation but does not presume such

activity has occurred.

Segregation in the American South

Racial segregation became commonplace in the American South during the last decades of the 19th century as southern whites worked to regain political and economic control of the region in the aftermath of the American Civil War after slavery was abolished. By the time of U.S. Supreme Court's "separate but equal" decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), a patchwork of local and state laws as well as social customs such as racial deed covenants were in place across the American South that limited the educational, political, economic, and social options available to blacks.[5] In response to segregation, blacks founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910 and other civil rights organizations thereafter. Working primarily through litigation, these civil rights organizations began to achieve success in overturning segregation in the 1910s with decisions in *Guinn and Beal v. United States* (1915) and *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) that brought minor improvements in political and real estate rights. However,

5 Racial covenants were included in real estate deeds to prevent certain properties from being sold to blacks.

it was not until after World War II that notable improvements were made including decisions in cases such as *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) and *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) which improved real estate and education rights, respectively. The civil rights movement reached a climax in the mid-1960s when legislative and constitutional achievements such as the Civil Rights Act (1964), Voting Rights Act (1965), and the 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution helped sweep away legally codified segregation.

Segregation in South Africa

Though "native areas" and "reserves" for blacks existed for several centuries in South African history, modern racial segregation became commonplace in the late 19th century. During this period, diamond and gold mining corporations developed isolated compounds on which black workers were forced to live. Compounds from which the workers were not allowed to leave regularly became the norm after 1885 and enabled the corporations to maintain a docile and continuous labor force (Davenport 1991: 495-496). During the early 20th century, other aspects of racial segregation, including increased discrimination in

employment and restrictions on voting, schooling, and the ability to select one's place of residence, were codified at the local, provincial, and national levels.

These efforts culminated in late 1940s and early 1950s in the creation of a system of segregation known as apartheid (literally, apartness in the language of Afrikaans). Apartheid was a far more severe and all-encompassing version of segregation than what existed in the American South. Apartheid not only established segregated schools and public amenities, impediments to voting, and employment discrimination, but also legally controlled the residential areas available to blacks, limited where blacks could travel (pass laws), and sought to strip blacks of their South African citizenship.[6]

In response to segregation, blacks founded the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 and other organizations to fight for equal rights thereafter. While the ANC, like the NAACP, sought to overturn segregation through litigation, judicial successes for blacks in South Africa tended to be rare and short-lived. Likewise, non-violent demonstrations

6 The pass laws were a series of statutes that required black South Africans to carry and provide to government officials upon demand passes that identified where they were allowed to live and travel. Black South Africans caught in areas outside those identified on their passes were subject to being fined or jailed.

proved ineffective and at times dangerous for the demonstrators. Following the Sharpville Massacre in 1960, at which 69 black demonstrators were killed by members of the South African Police, the ANC in 1961 founded a guerrilla arm called Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) to fight the Government of South Africa (Sparks 1990: 244). Beginning with the 1976 Soweto Riots, internal demonstrations against apartheid became increasingly common, while international sanctions against South Africa increased in the 1980s. In response to external and internal pressures in the late 1980s, the Government of South Africa began to relax enforcement of apartheid regulations (Davenport 1991: 440-445). In 1990, the Government of South Africa legalized the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations that had been outlawed since the early 1960s and began negotiations with these organizations which resulted in the dismantling of apartheid by 1994.

Exceptionalism

While South Africa and the American South have much in common with one another, for most of the 20th century they were thought of as peculiar, unique, or exceptional when

compared to their respective regions. The American South was viewed as out of step with the rest of the United States, while South Africa was viewed similarly with regard to the rest of Africa, in large part because of issues related to race and racial discrimination.

Peter Applebome, author of Dixie Rising: How the South is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture noted:

> The idea of the (American) South as the home of quintessential Americana does not compute. Ever since the prologue to the Civil War, the South's stock in trade has been the myth and reality of its distinctiveness: the only part of the nation with institutionalized apartheid; the only part of the nation to know the crushing burden of losing a war; a place congenitally geared to looking toward the past in a nation rushing headlong into the future; a region whose holy vapors of evangelical religion, crushing poverty, and indelible sense of history made it if not quite a separate country, as close to it as this nation as ever known within its border. (Applebome 1996: 10)

V.O. Key in the preface to his seminal Southern Politics in State and Nation wrote:

> Of books about the (American) South there is no end. Nor will there be as long as the South remains the region with the most distinctive character and tradition. (Key 1949: ix)

Similarly, South Africa was not regarded as a quintessential African place and was often referred to as an outpost of Europe on the southern tip of Africa. The country has had a far more racially diverse population than its African peers and economically was more diverse and wealthy. During the 1980s, attempting to emphasize this notion of uniqueness, the apartheid regime referred to South Africa as "a first world country on a third world continent." However, since the end of apartheid, South Africa's tourism board has used a slogan with a very different tone that emphasizes universality rather than exceptionalism, "a world in one country." This change in tone might merely be marketing, but it is also possible that it serves as an outward sign of a shift in underlying characteristics and conditions within South Africa that, as De Klerk (1990) stated, have placed South Africa "irrevocably on the road of drastic change," much like the American South's path was altered with the demise of segregation thirty years prior.

Intra-Urban Patterns of Segregation

As noted by Horn (2005), segregation is normally considered to be an inherently spatial process, though the

goals of segregation are rarely spatial and instead focus on allowing one group to build and maintain political, economic, and social dominance over another group. Hence, it is not surprising, given the extended duration of segregation in South Africa and the American South, that by the mid- to late 20th century the two areas had developed similarities in their patterns of political, economic, and social geography. Several examples, on an intra-urban level (micro-scale), of such similarities include:

1. The geographic separation of population by race for residential purposes.

2. The use of geographic barriers, both physiographic (such as rivers, lakes, or hills) and land use-related (such as transportation, industrial, commercial, or parklands), to impede interaction between racially or ethnically different residential areas.

3. The utilization of non-residential land uses (such as industrial or the central business district) as spaces open to all racial groups between the residential areas of the different races.

4. Cultural and legal norms that limited opportunities for discriminated groups from entering or visiting residential areas set aside for the dominant group.

Indianola, Mississippi, a community identified by Aiken (1998: 156-157) as typical of New South municipalities, provides an example of these spatial patterns for the

American South (Figure 1-3) as does Davies' (1981) model apartheid city for South Africa (Figure 1-4).

Thesis

This study argues that the end of segregation created an irrevocable shift in South Africa and the American South that both fundamentally altered the political, economic, and social geographies of these two areas and will lead them to become increasingly dissimilar. Additionally, it is argued that South Africa and the American South are becoming less exceptional and more typical of their African and American neighbors. It is argued that race, the issue that largely created similarities between South Africa and the American South, will be the primary factor that causes them to become increasingly dissimilar.

To come to these macro-level conclusions, it will first be necessary to establish that South Africa and the American South shared notable similarities during their segregation periods. Next, a micro-level examination of a "typical" city in each region during their respective transitions from segregation to post-segregation will be conducted to determine intra-urban patterns of population and commercial landscape change. Since these cities are

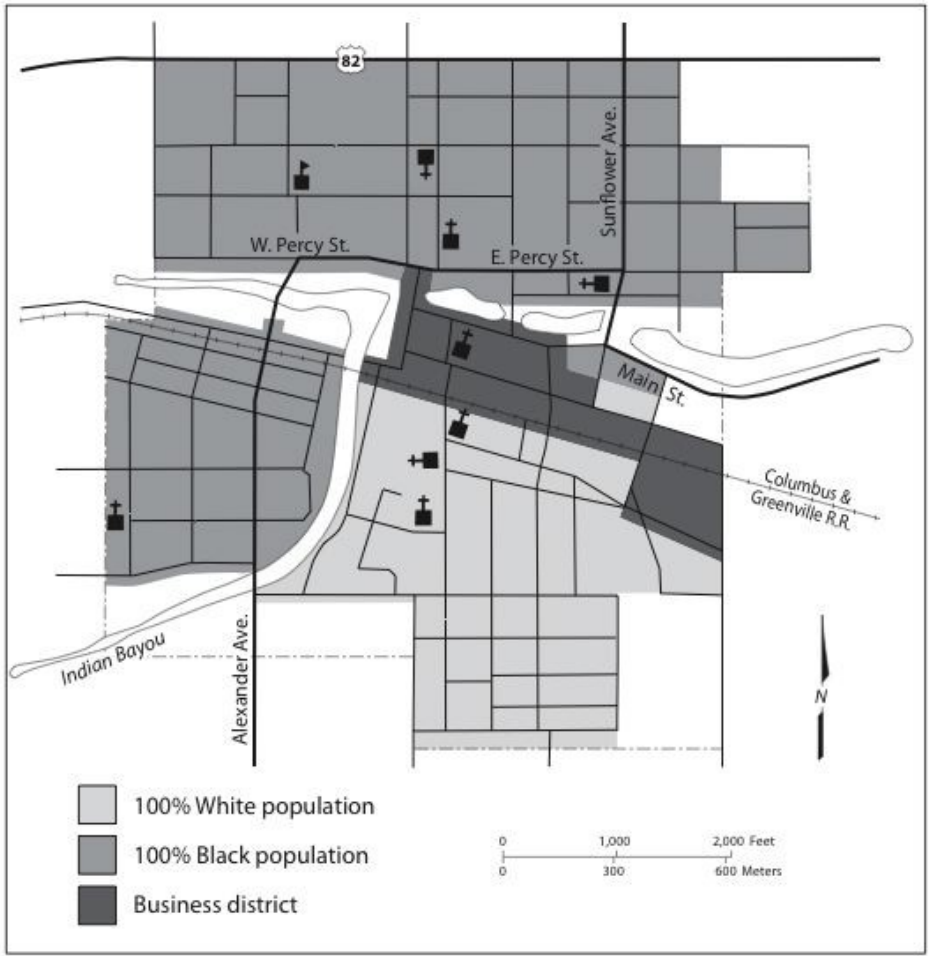

Figure 1-3: Indianola, Mississippi, 1940

Source: Aiken, Charles S. "A New Type of Black Ghetto in the Plantation South." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 80 (1990).

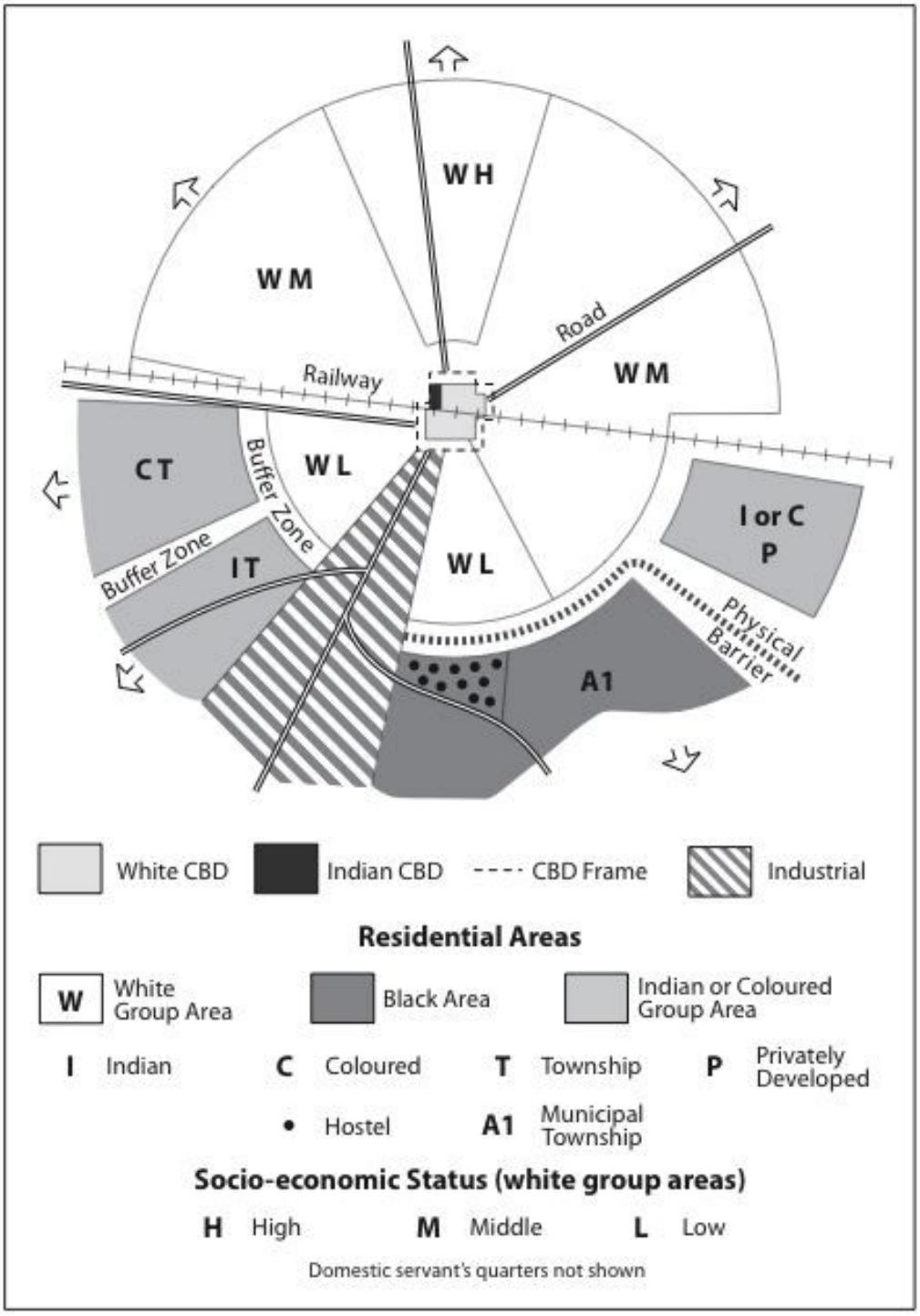

Figure 1-4: Model Apartheid City

Source: Based on Davies, R.J. "The Spatial Formation of the South African City." GeoJournal (1981) Supplementary Issue 2.

exemplars of their regions, they will signify what happened at the macro-scale for South Africa and the American South. Finally, an examination of perceptions held by notable portions of the populations of South Africa and the American South after the demise of segregation provides insights into factors that most affected each region after the end of segregation and provides clues as to whether or not South Africa and the American South will continue to share similarities in the future.

Dissertation Structure

The dissertation is divided into four sections of two chapters each to present evidence and arguments to support the thesis. Section One provides an overview of the dissertation in Chapter One and identifies key characteristics that have made South Africa and the American South similar in Chapter Two.

With the similarities between the American South and South Africa (macro-scale analysis) established in Chapter Two, the dissertation builds on that premise to further evaluate the similarities in their transitions from segregation to post-segregation periods by first examining them at an intra-urban level (micro-scale) by comparing a

"typical" city from each area. Section Two describes the socioeconomic and land use patterns within the study area cities of Wilmington, North Carolina in Chapter Three and Bloemfontein, South Africa in Chapter Four. Wilmington and Bloemfontein were chosen as exemplars of their respective regions because they experienced neither the harshest realities of segregation and apartheid nor were they the least affected, a premise based in large part on their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, which were near the median when compared to the remainder of the American South and South Africa, respectively.

In Section Three, each of the cities is analyzed based on real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses before and after the end of segregation to delineate the intra-urban population and commercial landscape changes in each city (Chapter Five for Wilmington and Chapter Six for Bloemfontein). The patterns of real estate and business locations are then correlated with socioeconomic variables to determine the relationship between racial and non-racial factors with the changes during the transition away from segregation. The results provide insights into the role race may have played in the changes in those regions after segregation and apartheid

ended. To facilitate analysis, data were categorized into a late segregation period (1955-1964) and an early post-segregation period (1965-1970) for Wilmington and a late apartheid period (1984-1994) and an early post-apartheid period (1995-1998) for Bloemfontein. The divide for Wilmington was between 1964 and 1965 since several key governmental policies, including the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, were enacted or ratified then. The divide for Bloemfontein was between 1994 and 1995 since South Africa's first nationwide multi-racial election was held in 1994, marking the end of apartheid.

Section Four returns to a macro-level analysis of the American South and South Africa. In Chapter Seven, perceptions held by notable portions of the populations of the American South and South Africa during their respective early post-segregation and early post-apartheid periods are reviewed from press and academic articles to shed further light on the micro-scale results from Chapters Five and Six, identifying the impact each of the key perceptions likely had on intra-urban patterns of change. After the macro-scale and micro-scale examinations of the American South and South Africa in the previous chapters, Chapter

Eight explores whether or not South Africa will follow in the footsteps of the American South in terms of how it adapts following the end of apartheid or whether South Africa's choices will lead that country in a different direction in the future.

Chapter 2: A Comparison of the American South and South Africa

The notion to undertake a project comparing the American South and South Africa is hardly a new idea. George M. Fredrickson published White Supremacy, A Comparative Study in American and South African History in 1981, while John W. Cell published The Highest Stage of White Supremacy, the Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South in 1982. Other scholars, while not directly studying both areas, published works that were clearly patterned to draw comparisons between the American South and South Africa. For instance, W.J. Cash published The Mind of the South in 1941, while Allister Sparks published The Mind of South Africa, The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid in 1990. In fact, the first sentence within the forward to Sparks' work notes, "Ever since reading W.J. Cash's The Mind of the South while I was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1962, I have wanted to write a book that might give the same insights into South Africa that it gave me into the psyche of the American South."

Why have so many scholars felt drawn to make comparisons between the American South and South Africa? The answer is that demographic, economic, political, and historical similarities between the two areas are striking. To underscore the point, this chapter discusses four themes that played pivotal roles in the development of the American South and South Africa. First, the American South and South Africa began as colonial possessions of European powers and maintained a colonial orientation during their formative years. Second, in the beginning, both areas had economies largely centered on the primary sector, agriculture and mining. Third, the American South and South Africa have a history in which a racial dichotomy and a separation of the races by whites in the forms of slavery and segregation was maintained. Fourth, within both the American South and South Africa, deep divisions within the white communities (Afrikaners versus the English in South Africa and southern whites versus northern whites in the United States) are long standing and resulted in internal wars, the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa and the Civil War in the United States.

Colonial Development and Orientation

The American South and South Africa originated as colonial settlements of European powers and retained a colonial orientation throughout their formative years. Permanent European settlement of both areas began during the 17th century, and each experienced more than a century and a half of colonial governance. Additionally, once independent, each continued to be oriented towards its former colonizers both economically and socially.

First European contact with the American South occurred in 1513 when the Spanish landed in what is now Florida (Boles and Nolen 1987: 13). However, large scale settlement of what became the American South began in 1607 when the English established a colony at Jamestown, Virginia. Following 1618, English population and settlement in the New World began to boom (Boles and Nolen 1987: 20), and over the next century and a half, twelve additional English colonies developed along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, each officially independent from one another. By the late 18th century, the colonies began to develop a common American identity, at least in part as a reaction to intrusive British governance, including imposition of the Stamp Act of 1765 and appointment of

colonial governors by the King of England without a local vote. This development resulted in the American Revolutionary War between 1775 and 1781 and the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The colonies banded together in opposition to British rule and ultimately became an independent country.

First permanent European settlement in what is now known as South Africa was established by the Dutch East India Company in Table Bay near the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The settlement grew rapidly (Burger 2003: 14) to include the Dutch and Germans who initially came as part of the East India Company and French Huguenot refugees, who were brought in by the Company in 1688 (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 36; Davenport 1991: 19; SA 97-98 1998: 23). A culturally uniform community emerged, as the Germans intermarried with the Dutch and the French were required by governmental edict to "so far as possible learn, worship, and communicate with the authorities through the Dutch language" (Davenport 1991: 20). An identity as Afrikaners among the settlers began to emerge in the early 1700s when most were allowed to leave the Dutch East India Company and become farmers, known as free burghers or Boers (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 36). As a result of living in

relative isolation, they developed their own vernacular, what became known as Afrikaans (SA 97-98 1998: 14). The term Afrikaner became synonymous with the word Boer and "denoted a people reared on Southern African soil, and imbued with a patriotism centered in the new fatherland into which they were carrying the cultural values of Western Europe" (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 36).

Assisted immigration of whites by the Dutch East India Company to the Cape ended in 1707, largely as a result of the free burghers' resistance to rule by officials of the company, who ran most of the central government functions until 1795, when the British annexed the Cape. There were only about 15,000 whites in the Colony when the British gained control (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 36; Davenport 1991: 19-20; SA 97-98 1998: 14).

For several years, beginning in 1803, the power over the Cape fluctuated between the British and the Dutch. In that year, because of the Treaty of Amiens, the United Netherlands, also known as the Batavian Republic, regained control of the Cape region from the British. In 1806, the British seized the opportunity to take control with the rise of Napoleon in Europe and to disregard the Treaty of Amiens. In 1815, the Cape was legally transferred to

British rule with a treaty between Britain and the Netherlands (Davenport 1991: 25 and 37-38). The white population grew substantially in the 1800s with the arrival of many British settlers who were brought in by the British colonial government to suppress the tensions with the indigenous blacks, the Xhosa, that had arisen on the eastern Cape border (SA 97-98 1998: 14). Four thousand British settlers arrived in 1820. English began to replace Dutch as the official language of the courts, schools, and legislature. The British also began to dominate commerce (Davenport 1991: 39-41). Increasing frustration by the Afrikaner community with British governance resulted in the start of the Great Trek in 1834. Thousands of Afrikaners left the Cape and migrated into what is now central South Africa where they established independent republics such as the Orange Free State in 1854 and the South African Republic in 1856 (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 38; Webster's Geographical Dictionary 2001: 402 and 1106).

Dominance of Agricultural & Mining Economies

From their earliest days of European settlement, both the American South and South Africa quickly came to be dominated by primary sector economies. Economic activity

in the American South focused on staple crop agriculture (tobacco, cotton, and rice), while South Africa developed into one of the world's largest mining economies. Throughout their formative years, reliance on primary sector activities resulted in both the American South and South Africa developing a stereotypical colonial relationship, with the export of primary sector goods and import of manufactured/finished products.

Originally founded to locate and mine minerals for export to England, Jamestown and other British colonies in the American South quickly focused instead on agricultural production with a particular emphasis on the growth and export of staple crops (Kirby 1989: 26; Wilson 1989a: 583; Skemp 1989: 691). Tobacco production came to dominate the colonial economies of Virginia and Maryland, while the production of rice and indigo became common in South Carolina and Georgia. By the late 17th century, the importation from Europe of white indentured servants to work the farms began to give way to black slaves imported from Africa and the Caribbean, giving rise to plantations. As such, the American South grew to resemble colonies Europeans had earlier founded in the Caribbean and northeastern Brazil. Cotton eventually became the most

important crop raised within the American South, becoming commonplace after Eli Whitney's gin, invented in 1793 (Kirby 1989: 27). Originally produced for consumption by British colonizers, American South staple crop agriculture remained primarily export-oriented rather than being processed within the region throughout the Antebellum era (Pennington 1989: 595).

Dutch settlement of South Africa began as an effort to create a reprovision station for Dutch East India Company ships plying the Europe-to-India route (Webster's Geographical Dictionary 2001: 212). In support of this effort, the company began to trade with the Cape's original population, Bushmen hunter/gatherers known as Khoikhoi, who turned to pastoralism, acquiring livestock from Bantu-speaking peoples who migrated through the area (SA 97-98 1998: 13). At first providing the company with meat at reasonable trades, over time the Khoikhoi began to drive harder bargains. Partially in response to this, in 1657, nine former Dutch East India Company servants were allowed to establish private farms to supplement the food supply (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 35; Davenport 1991: 19-21). The farmers, known as "free burghers," provided low cost food for the Company. In 1679, twenty more settlers were

granted land on which to farm (Davenport 1991: 19 and 25). The free burghers were the first in what was soon to become a land of farmers (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 35). Staple crop agriculture eventually took root in the country, though not in the Cape and not under Dutch colonial rule. Instead, plantation style agriculture became dominant in the southeastern section of the country within the hinterland of British-controlled Durban in the mid-19th century where sugarcane production became common. Much as in the American South, non-local labor was imported to work the farms, in this case primarily Indian and Malayan populations (Davenport 1991: 105).

While agriculture became an important part of the economy, South Africa as a colony and as an independent country eventually became known primarily for its mining sector. Large-scale mining became common within the center of the country in the latter half of the 19th century after the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867 and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 (SA 97-98 1998: 15). The discovery of gold led to the founding and growth of Johannesburg and resulted in an influx of British and other European immigrants (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 39). By the time of the formation of the Union of South Africa in

1910, the country accounted for more than 98 percent of the world's diamond production, and all of the country's major diamond and gold mining houses were under the control of, or funded by, European interests (Davenport 1991: 494-496).

Racialization of Culture - Slavery and Segregation

From their founding, the American South and South Africa have had racially diverse populations. Over time, this pattern resulted in a system of black slavery and racial discrimination to guarantee the dominance of white populations. Although slavery was abolished in the mid-19th century in both the American South and South Africa, the end of slavery did not result in an end to racial discrimination. Instead, governmentally mandated systems of racial segregation came to fill the void, resulting in the rise of civil rights struggles within both regions in the 20th century.[1]

With the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, English settlers immediately came into contact with Native Americans, and the importation of blacks began in 1619. Working in competition and occasionally in concert with the

1 The civil rights movement in the United States largely fought to improve the political and economic status of blacks. In South Africa, civil rights struggles fought to improve the political and economic status of blacks, coloureds, and Asians.

native population, the colonies within the area that is now the American South quickly developed staple crop agriculture economies. To support the labor needs of this agricultural system, the European settlers first attempted to co-opt or enslave the Native American population and later imported European indentured servants. However, the failure of both systems led to the implementation of black slavery, and by 1790 over one-third of the 1.9 million people who lived in the states to the south of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were black, of whom the majority were slaves (Wilson 1989a: 583-585). Slavery remained legal in the American South until the 1860s when the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1865) were implemented. Although federal enactments such as the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution (1868 and 1870, respectively) were enacted to protect the citizenship and voting rights of American blacks, segregationist and other racially discriminatory policies quickly became the law of the land. For instance, state laws segregating the races in public transportation were enacted in Tennessee in 1881, disenfranchisement of blacks by constitutional convention

occurred in Mississippi in 1890, and United States Supreme Court validation of segregation within public accommodations occurred through *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 (Fredrickson 1981: 287).

By the start of the 20th century, the presence of segregationist and other racially discriminatory policies throughout the United States led to the development of an American black-led civil rights movement. Specifically, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910, the Congress of Racial Equality in 1942, the Southern Christian Leadership Council in 1957, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1960 were established to lead the struggle. Using a variety of legal actions and civil disobedience, the civil rights movement made slow but continuous progress in its efforts. Notable points of progress included *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), a United States Supreme Court decision outlawing *de jure* residential segregation, and *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) that outlawed segregated schools. Progress for the American civil rights movement reached its climax in the mid-1960s when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were enacted by the United States Congress to guarantee equal access to

public facilities and protection of black voting rights (Fredrickson 1981: 286-287).

In 1652, shortly after the Dutch established a colony at Cape Town in South Africa, slaves were imported from East Africa, Madagascar, and the East Indies to facilitate the activities of the Dutch East India Company (SA 97-98 1998: 14). In 1717, a conscious decision was made by the Dutch East India Company to continue importing slaves rather than reinstate the practice of assisted immigration of European whites to the Cape. It was thought that slaves would be less costly and easier to control than white European farmhands. At that time, there were only about 2,000 slaves at the Cape. While the number of Company slaves remained consistently low over the years (around 600), the number of privately-owned slaves rose steadily from 16,839 in 1795 and 25,754 in 1798. The annual rate of increase in the slave population versus the free burghers was roughly equal, in contrast to the American South with its large-scale plantation agriculture where black slaves outnumbered the whites (Davenport 1991: 22-23). Slaves continued to be brought in legally into South Africa until 1807 (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 35), when the British outlawed the slave trade throughout its empire, of which

the Cape had become a part. However, after 1807, the number of slaves at the Cape continued to rise due to illegal imports and "surreptitious enserfment of local people to meet the demands of a growing economy" (Davenport 1991: 41), the "local people" consisting mostly of the Khoikhoi/Hottentots. The British passed a law in December 1833 to set slaves free, which was met with resistance in the Cape but took effect between 1838 and 1840 (Davenport 1991: 41-42). Partly in opposition to the abolition of slavery, the Great Trek, begun in 1834, involved the migration of thousands of Afrikaners and their black farmhands into the interior of South Africa and away from British control.

Indentured laborers also were brought from India to South Africa, specifically to Natal in the southeastern section of the country, beginning in the mid-1800s, to work on the sugarcane plantations in the coastal lowlands (Burger 2003: 15). Indian merchants also began to arrive in the late 1870s. The Indian population rose from about 10,000 in 1875 to approximately 100,000 by the end of the century. Whites did not like the competition from Indian merchants nor the increasing political power of the Indian population. As a result, legislation was enacted limiting

the rights of Indians to vote and freely take part in trade through such measures as a poll tax and the ability of local authorities to deny trading licenses (Davenport 1991: 105-106).

In addition to discriminatory policies against South Africa's Indian population, such practices were also common against the country's black and coloured populations. For instance, within the mining sector, the institution of the compound/hostel housing system for blacks became dominant after 1895 (Davenport 1991: 495-496). Instituted nominally to control mineral theft, the compounds were primarily implemented to ensure continuous labor service and police control over black workers and became ubiquitous throughout the South African economy in the 20th century. Land segregation, employment color bars,[2] and segregated schooling also were implemented, codified through enactments such as the Cape Colony School Board Act of 1907, the Mine and Works Act of 1911, the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926. With the election

2 Employment color bar is a South African term that refers to the practice of setting aside specific classes of jobs for people of a particular race. The practice is a subset of job set-asides, which may or may not be based on race but result in employment being reserved for certain groups of individuals.

to power of the National Party in 1948, a far harsher version of segregation, apartheid, was implemented. Codified through enactments such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, apartheid sought to completely disenfranchise, decitizenize, and segregate South Africa's black population from the remaining population (Fredrickson 1981: 284; Burger 2003: 16; Davenport 1991: 510).

Much like in the United States, the implementation of segregationist and other racially discriminatory policies led to the development of a black-led civil rights movement that sought an end to the discriminatory policies through legal actions, civil disobedience, and armed resistance. Specifically, the African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 and the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1959 to lead the struggle (Sparks 1990: 144; Davenport 1991: 357). Carrying on activities for decades, both organizations were officially banned in 1960, following the deaths of 69 protesters during a government crackdown at a rally in Sharpville against pass laws that restricted where blacks could travel and live within South Africa. During the

1970s and 1980s, both organizations became increasingly strident in their efforts to end segregation. In 1990, both organizations, along with the South African Communist Party, were unbanned, and Nelson Mandela, the nominal head of the African National Congress, was released from jail. Over the next three years, negotiations between the apartheid-era white-minority government and the black civil rights movement progressed and culminated in the country's first truly nationwide multiracial election in April 1994 (SA 97-98 1998: 23-27; Sparks 1995: 5-239).

Divisions Within the White Community

In addition to having racially divisive traditions, the histories of the American South and South Africa are also marked by division and animosity within their white communities. Resulting from their colonial and economic heritages, the divisions within the two regions' white communities played important roles in the development of the American South's and South Africa's racial conditions.

Developed from the earliest days of the colonial period along different economic paths, the southern and northern United States quickly came to have different outlooks and perspectives. Within the American South, the

rise of staple crop agriculture resulted in black slavery and colonial economic relationships. Conversely, within the northern United States, the economy came to focus on commerce and industry without black slavery. Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the issue of slavery was one that increasingly divided the white populations of the southern and northern halves of the United States both on moral grounds and on issues related to political control (such as the method of census counting of the black population and the balance of power between free and slave states). Examples of attempts to deal with that division include the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. At least partially precipitating the American Civil War, the divide between southern and northern whites over slavery almost led to the permanent dissolution of the country in the 1860s. In the aftermath of the War, the imposition of Reconstruction on the defeated American South heightened animosities within significant portions of the southern white community, creating a myth that "for a decade after 1867 carpetbaggers [northern whites], scalawags, and freedmen ran the governments of the southern states, looting financial resources, passing high taxes, denying

[American South] whites a role in government, and spreading terror throughout the region" (Wilson 1989b: 658-659). Generations of southern whites believed that they had suffered at the hands of white northerners and their own former slaves. Partially in response to this belief, southern whites united in the late 1800s to end Reconstruction and implement racial segregation to reassert their dominance within the region.

Beginning with the transfer of the Cape from Dutch to British control in the early 1800s, animosity between South Africa's Afrikaner and British settler communities quickly developed. Frustrated by British legal policies related to race, taxation, and language, thousands of Afrikaners began the Great Trek in 1834 into central South Africa to seek lands beyond British control and establish independent Boer Republics. Over the next 60 years, conflicts between the two white groups continued primarily as a result of the discovery of diamonds and gold within or adjacent to the Boer Republics. The discoveries led to an influx of British settlers into the Boer Republics and a growing interest within the British government to control the areas. The animosity resulted in the outbreak of the First Anglo-Boer War in 1880 and the South African War (also

known as the Second Anglo-Boer War) in 1899 (SA 97-98 1998: 24). The British defeated the Afrikaners in 1902, but by 1910 the former Boer Republics, together with the Cape Colony and Natal, were combined to form the Union of South Africa. The Union was granted domestic, but not foreign, policy independence by the British. Throughout the 19th century, ever larger numbers of Afrikaners became destitute and situated along the margins of the economy while English interests and populations increasingly owned and controlled the country's dominant firms and occupied the best jobs (Davenport 1991: 289-290; Harrison 1981: 65-66). Within the Afrikaner community, concern about a growing Boer underclass was the dominant political issue between 1890 and 1939 (Giliomee 2003: 353). Throughout the early decades of the 20th century, this issue helped bring the Afrikaner community evermore into a unified political coalition that succeeded in the enactment of policies such as employment color bars and job set-asides to guarantee Afrikaner economic progress. Eventually this coalition, spurred by its fears about losing white control over South Africa, elected the National Party to power in 1948 and helped lead the implementation of apartheid (Giliomee 2003: 340-352 and 479-482).

Conclusion

The American South and South Africa share a striking number of similarities. The fact that scholars such as Cell, Fredrickson, and Sparks feel drawn to studies comparing the two is understandable. This dissertation will build upon that tradition by seeking to understand if the American South's and South Africa's tendency for similarity is likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

Section 2

Overview of the Study Areas

Chapter 3: The American South Study Area of Wilmington, North Carolina

Wilmington is a small city situated in southeastern North Carolina in the eastern edge of the American South (Figure 1-1). This chapter provides an overview of demographic and socioeconomic conditions in Wilmington, North Carolina, during the 1950s and 1960s. Additionally, a case is made that Wilmington serves as an exemplar of the American South during the late segregation (1955-1964) and early post-segregation (1965-1970) periods. As such, the community is an ideal case study for discerning the impacts the transition from segregation to post-segregation had on real estate and business conditions in most American South cities.

Historical Overview

The city of Wilmington was founded in 1730 by British settlers. Situated at a navigable site 48 kilometers (30 miles) north of the Cape Fear River's confluence with the Atlantic Ocean, Wilmington quickly grew to become one of the largest population and economic centers in North

Carolina and the state's primary seaport (Webster's Geographical Dictionary 2001: 1308). During the American Civil War, the city served as a major port for Confederate blockade runners until closed by Union forces on January 15, 1865 following the capture of Fort Fisher. After the Civil War, the city became an important railroad hub and headquarters site for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad (now a component of the CSX Corporation). This status as a transportation hub helped Wilmington become the primary government, wholesaling, and retail services center for southeastern North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina. By 1960, Wilmington had a population of 71,742 and was 72.1 percent white (US Census 1960).

Physical Overview

Wilmington has a mild climate and is situated within an arable but sandy-soiled section of North Carolina's outer coastal plain. The city has an average elevation of six meters (20 feet) and a flat topography (Steila 2000: 39-45, North Carolina Atlas & Gazetter 2001: 83-84 and 87). The city experiences a humid subtropical climate and receives an average of 140 centimeters (55.1 inches) of precipitation per year. The annual average temperature is

17.4 degrees Celsius (63.4 F); the summertime peak monthly average is 26.8 degrees Celsius (80.3 F) in July, and the wintertime minimum monthly average is 7.2 degrees Celsius (45.6 F) in January (Robinson 2000: 23). Easy access to potable water and soils which percolate have helped to foster a relatively diffuse settlement pattern in the greater Wilmington area by enabling urban development to occur without access to piped water or sewer service. The mild climate and fair physiographic conditions have also enabled Wilmington to become an important agricultural center. Crops historically grown or processed in the greater Wilmington area include rice, tobacco, cotton, and wood products (naval stores) such as turpentine and tar.

Wilmington Subregions and Neighborhoods

For the purpose of this study, Wilmington has been divided into five subregions, which are further subdivided into twenty-one neighborhoods (Table 3-1 and Figure 3-1).[1] The neighborhoods match census tract boundaries delineated

1 For the purpose of this study, Wilmington refers both to the incorporated municipality of Wilmington and surrounding sections of New Hanover County.

Table 3-1: Wilmington Subregions and Neighborhoods, 1970

Subregion	Neighborhood	Area (In Hectares)
Central	Carolina Heights	218.5
	Waterfront	246.0
	Dawson/Wooster	136.7
	Courthouse	172.2
	Historic District	120.8
	Northside	262.2
		1,156.4
Inner Eastern	Audubon	561.7
	Chestnut Heights	723.4
	Country Club Estates	759.5
	Forest Hills	246.8
		2,291.4
Northern	Castle Hayne	10,646.4
	Holly Shelter Swamp	13,277.9
		23,924.3
Outer Eastern	Federal Point	8,372.9
	Masonboro	4,390.8
	Porter's Neck	4,656.4
	Winter Park	1,796.2
	Wrightsville Beach	3,661.0
		22,877.3
Southern	Greenfield Lake	157.5
	Lakeview	301.9
	Shipyard	495.2
	Sunset Heights	248.3
		1,202.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

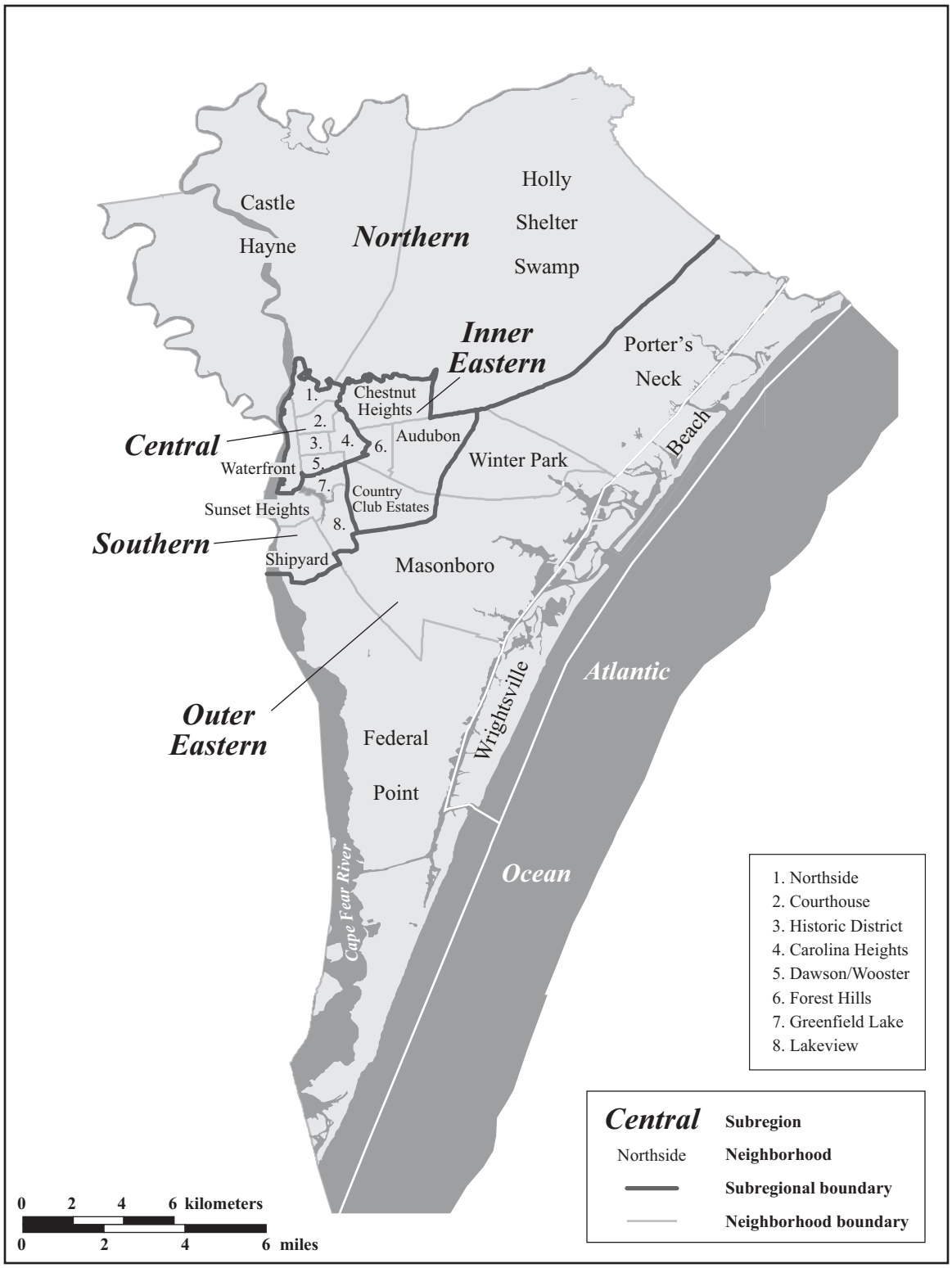

Figure 3-1: Wilmington Subregions and Neighborhoods, 1970

by United States Bureau of the Census.[2] The Central Subregion, comprised of six neighborhoods (Waterfront, Courthouse, Historic District, Carolina Heights, Dawson/Wooster, and Northside), during the mid-20th century included a mixture of commercial, government, and residential land uses. In addition to serving as Wilmington's historic retail and office core, the Central Subregion also housed the headquarters, repair shops, classification, and switching yards for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and commercially owned wharves for oceangoing and intra-coastal vessels. Government and institutional land uses within the subregion included the United States Federal Courthouse, the Wilmington municipal offices, the New Hanover County offices, and two segregation-era hospitals (one for blacks and the other for whites). In the late 1960s, both hospitals were closed after a new hospital to serve all of Wilmington's population was opened in a neighboring subregion. The Central Subregion contained a variety of residential properties. While some were multi-unit, most were single-family homes, and in terms of size, the properties included some of the largest

2 Census Tracts were first delineated by the United States Bureau of the Census as part of the 1970 Decennial Census of Population and Housing. Prior to 1970, census data for Wilmington was only released for the city in its entirety.

and smallest homes in the city (Figures 3-2 and 3-3). Racially, the subregion was also varied, including both neighborhoods that historically had been almost exclusively black and others that had been mostly white.

The Inner Eastern Subregion, comprised of four neighborhoods (Forest Hills, Chestnut Heights, Country Club Estates, and Audubon), included some of Wilmington's wealthiest and most exclusive neighborhoods during the mid-20th century (Figure 3-4). Bordering the eastern edge of central Wilmington, the Inner Eastern Subregion was largely separated from its western neighbor by Burnt Mill Creek and a rail spur of the Atlantic Coast Line (Figure 3-5). The Inner Eastern Subregion included two of three major retail nodes (Oleander Drive Retail District and Market Street Retail District) situated outside central Wilmington. Government and institutional land uses within the Inner Eastern Subregion included New Hanover Memorial Hospital, which opened in 1967 as a replacement for two segregation-era hospitals, and the Cape Fear Country Club. Given its economic status, the subregion contained some of Wilmington's largest homes, though notable numbers of mid-sized homes were also located here. Almost all residential properties in the subregion were single-family units.

Figure 3-2: Examples of Upper-Middle Class and Wealthy Homes in Wilmington's Central Subregion

Figure 3-3: Examples of Housing in Historically Black Neighborhoods in Wilmington

Figure 3-4: Examples of Upper-Middle Class and Wealthy Homes in Wilmington's Suburban Neighborhoods

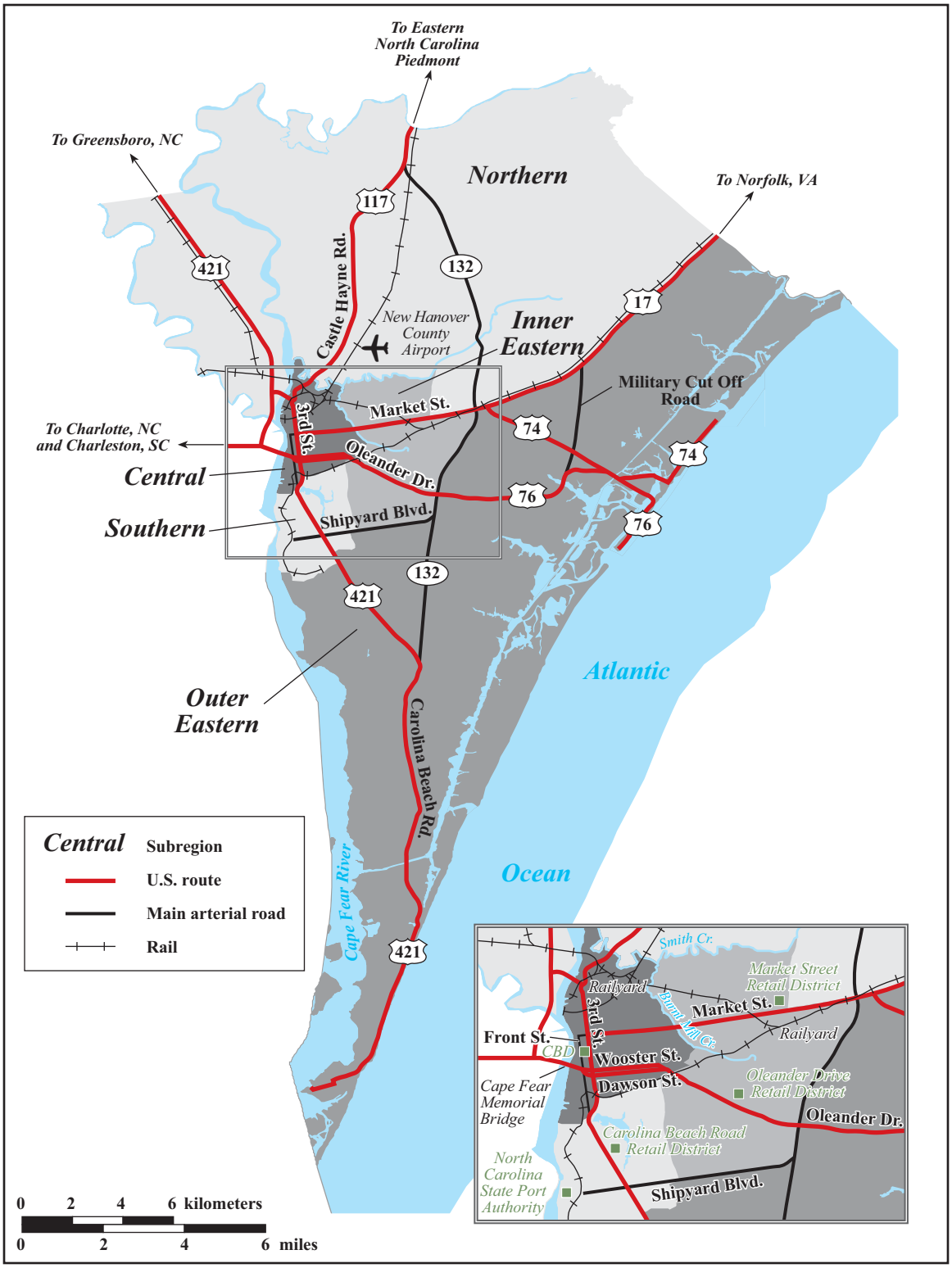

Figure 3-5: Wilmington Transportation Network and Points of Interest, 1970

During the late segregation period, neighborhoods in the Inner Eastern Subregion were primarily occupied by whites.

The Southern Subregion, comprised of four neighborhoods (Sunset Heights, Shipyard, Lakeview, and Greenfield Lake), was occupied primarily by working- and middle-class populations during the mid-20th century (Figure 3-6). The Southern Subregion included the Carolina Beach Road Retail District, the third of three major retail nodes situated outside the Central Subregion (Figure 3-5). Government and institutional land uses in the Southern Subregion included the North Carolina state port complex which opened in 1952, Greenfield Lake (Wilmington's largest park facility), and the county fairgrounds complex. The state port complex was situated on a site formerly occupied by the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, Wilmington's largest employer during World War II. Residential properties in the subregion included multi-unit apartment buildings and small single-family homes. Most of the apartments were government-owned complexes constructed during World War II to house workers employed at the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company. Conversely, most of the single-family homes were privately owned. During the late segregation period, neighborhoods in the Southern Subregion were occupied mostly by whites.

Figure 3-6: Examples of Working-Class Housing in Wilmington

The Northern Subregion, comprised of two neighborhoods (Castle Hayne and Holly Shelter Swamp) (Figure 3-1), was mostly rural during the mid-20th century. Agriculture, historically the dominant activity in the subregion, continued to be important, though increased industrialization and suburban development were beginning to occur. The primary government land use in the subregion was the New Hanover County Airport (Figure 3-5). During the 1960s, a new roadway for US Route 421 was opened through the subregion. Routed through a previously less-developed section of the Castle Hayne neighborhood, the corridor became a magnet for industrial development, attracting firms such as DuPont Chemical Company, Hercules Chemical Company, and Federal Paper Board. Most residential properties in the subregion were mid-sized single-family homes. During the late segregation period, both neighborhoods in the subregion were primarily occupied by whites.

The Outer Eastern Subregion, comprised of five neighborhoods (Winter Park, Wrightsville Beach, Porter's Neck, Masonboro, and Federal Point), included Wilmington's beach communities and a substantial portion of its middle- and upper-middle class housing during the mid-20th century

(Figures 3-7 and 3-8). Through World War II, the subregion was mostly rural except for a corridor of development dating back to the early 20th century clustered along a trolley line that ran parallel to Oleander Drive. However, beginning in the 1950s, the Outer Eastern Subregion began to suburbanize rapidly. Major government and institutional land uses in the subregion included Wilmington College (now the University of North Carolina at Wilmington) and Cape Fear Hospital. Residential properties in the subregion generally were either mid-sized structures built on pilings, if located within the beach communities, or single-story mid-sized homes, if located in the mainland neighborhoods.

Transportation Infrastructure

Wilmington's location on a navigable section of the Cape Fear River along the Atlantic seaboard enabled the city to become a transportation hub for mideastern sections of the American South. Though not blessed with a harbor equal in quality to that found in Charleston, South Carolina, or Norfolk, Virginia, Wilmington's anchorage along the Cape Fear River was still the best such facility along the North Carolina coast, and the city quickly grew

Figure 3-7: Examples of Beach Houses in the Wilmington Area

Figure 3-8: Examples of Middle-Class Housing in Wilmington

in the 1700s to become the colony's largest seaport, a status it has since maintained. During the American Civil War, the importance of Wilmington's seaport grew given its relative proximity to the British Colony of Bermuda, an important resupply and trading center for the Confederate States of America, and the presence of shoals and inlets near the Atlantic mouth of the Cape Fear River that facilitated Wilmington-bound vessels to evade the blockade of Confederate seaports by the United States Navy. During the early 20th century, as the average size of oceangoing vessels increased, the shallow depth of the Cape Fear River and small size of the wharves near Wilmington's central city began to undermine the economic viability of the city's seaport operations. In response to this challenge, in 1952, new port facilities owned and operated by the State of North Carolina opened downriver from the central city.

Founded as a means for Wilmington to extend the hinterland of its seaport, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, headquartered in the city from its founding to the 1960s, eventually overtook the seaport as Wilmington's primary transportation asset and basis as a regional transportation hub. Initially constructed between 1835 and

1840 as the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad, in the decades following the American Civil War, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad grew to become one of the largest railroads in the American South and the primary engine of Wilmington's economy. By the mid-20th century, Atlantic Coast Line tracks extended from Alabama and Florida in the south to the District of Columbia in the northeast. In addition to the headquarters complex, the railroad maintained classification and switching yards, repair shops, and transshipment facilities in the city. Crisscrossing the city, rail lines associated with the Atlantic Coast Line entered Wilmington from the northwest, north, and northeast and terminated at rail yards and wharves located within, and to the south of, central Wilmington (Figure 3-5). In 1961, the Atlantic Coast Line transferred its headquarters from Wilmington to Jacksonville, Florida, where, in 1967, it merged with the Seaboard Air Line Railroad to create the Seaboard Coast Line, which in more recent years became the CSX Corporation.

Wilmington is also an important highway crossroads. During the mid-20th century, major highways crisscrossing or terminating in the city included US Route 17, US Route 74, US Route 76, US Route 421, and US Route 117 (Figure 3-5).

US Route 17, also known as the Ocean Highway, served as Wilmington's primary connection with cities to the north and south, while US Routes 74, 76, 421, and 117 connected the city with the North Carolina and South Carolina piedmont and cities further to the west and northwest. Just as importantly, they connected southeastern North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina with the city and helped Wilmington develop and maintain its position as the region's dominant retail and service center.

During the 1950s and 1960s, most arterials in Wilmington converged on the central city (Figure 3-5). Major corridors included Third Street/Castle Hayne Road to the north, Market Street to the northeast, Oleander Drive to the east, and Front Street/Carolina Beach Road to the south. NC Highway 132 served as a bypass to the east of central Wilmington that connected Castle Hayne Road (US Route 117) on the north with Carolina Beach Boulevard on the south. Together with Shipyard Boulevard, NC Highway 132 served as a route of access to the North Carolina State Ports complex located to the south of central Wilmington. In 1969, the Cape Fear Memorial Bridge was opened along the southern edge of Wilmington's central city. Together with Oleander Drive and Military Cut Off Road, the new bridge,

much like NC Highway 132, served as a bypass around central Wilmington's retail core. The city's remaining streets generally followed one of two patterns. In the central and western portions of the city, streets were laid out as a series of grids that created multiple interconnections between the central section of Wilmington and areas immediately to the north, east, and south. Conversely, streets within the northern, eastern, and southern edges of the city were generally laid out in a branching pattern in which interconnections within and between neighborhoods were rare.

While known more for its rail and seaport facilities, Wilmington's airfield has also been an important civic asset. The airfield, known as New Hanover County Airport in the mid-20th century, is situated five kilometers northeast of central Wilmington (Figure 3-5). While small by big city standards, the airport has long been important not just for the passenger and general aviation services provided to Wilmington's population, but also for its ability to draw passengers from surrounding sections of southeastern North Carolina and solidify Wilmington's status as a regional service center.

Business and Commercial Distribution

Wilmington's role as transportation hub and regional center for government, retail, and professional services enabled the city to develop a diverse, but orderly, pattern of land use by the mid-20th century (Figures 3-5 and 3-9). Neighborhoods with notable concentrations of business activity included Waterfront, Courthouse, and Dawson/Wooster in the Central Subregion, Audubon, Chestnut Heights, and Country Club Estates in the Inner Eastern Subregion, and Lakeview and Shipyard in the Southern Subregion.

Retail and consumer services were the most widely dispersed business activity in Wilmington during the study period. However, even then, most of these activities were clustered in one of four nodes within the city.

The largest and most developed node was the historic retail and office core of the central business district (CBD) within the Central Subregion. Focused primarily on the neighborhoods of Waterfront and Courthouse, the node served as the location for the city's principal department stores, a large collection of specialty retailers, the office site for most corporations with a presence in the city, and the location for most government-related

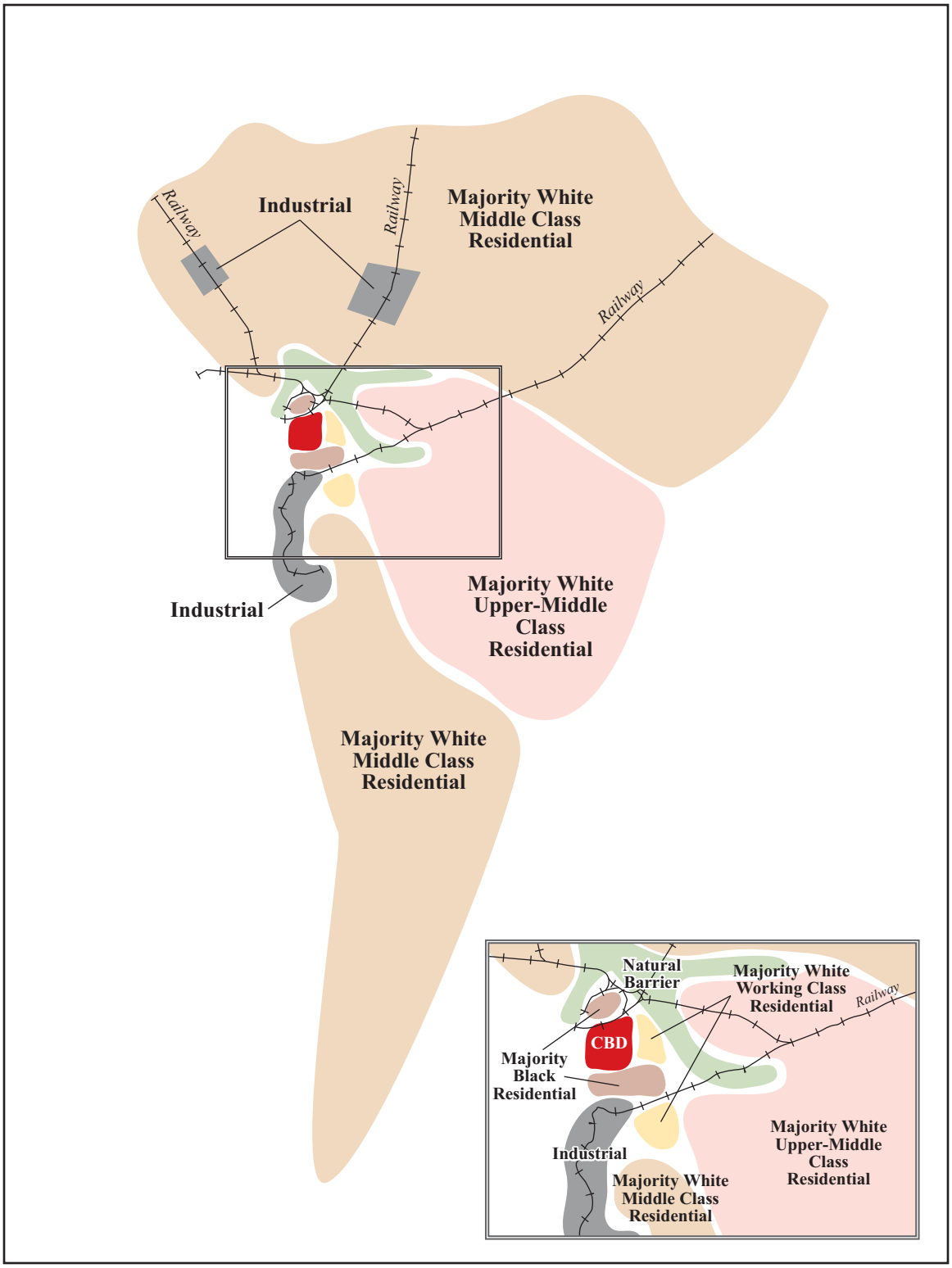

Figure 3-9: Generalized Pattern of Land Use in Wilmington, 1970

activities (Figure 3-10).

Among the three remaining nodes, the largest and fastest growing was the Oleander Drive Retail District. Situated in the inner eastern neighborhoods of Audubon and Country Club Estates, the node included Hanover Shopping Center, Wilmington's only suburban regional-level retail complex, and several community-level shopping centers. Next in size and importance was the Market Street Retail District, situated to the north of the Oleander Drive district in the inner eastern neighborhoods of Audubon and Chestnut Heights. Two community-level shopping centers (North 17 Plaza and Azalea Plaza) and a collection of hotels anchored this node (Figure 3-11). The smallest of the retail nodes was the Carolina Beach Road Retail District. Situated in the neighborhoods of Lakeview and Shipyard, the district served as a community-level retail center for the Southern Subregion.

During the mid-20th century, industrial, transshipment, and warehouse activities were widely spread in Wilmington, though less so than retail and consumer services. Wharves, warehouses, and other seaport-related land uses stretched along the Cape Fear River from Waterfront in the Central Subregion to Shipyard in the Southern Subregion. Situated

Figure 3-10: Examples of Businesses Within the Central Subregion of Wilmington

Figure 3-11: Examples of Suburban Businesses in Wilmington

initially to support port activities, railroad land uses were also widely dispersed. Tracks associated with the Atlantic Coast Line entered the city from the northwest, north, and northeast and converged on rail yards and repair shops encompassing most of the northern half of Waterfront in central Wilmington. Situated in the neighborhood of Audubon to the east of central Wilmington was a second switching yard from which a spur line extended along the edge of the Central Subregion and into southern Wilmington to service the wharves of Shipyard. During the 1950s and 1960s, industry was overwhelmingly congregated around the rail lines, with industrial zones especially well developed around the rail yards in the northern half of Waterfront in the Central Subregion, along the spur line in the neighborhoods of Dawson/Wooster, Greenfield Lake, Sunset Heights, and Shipyard in central and southern Wilmington, and along the Atlantic Coast Line tracks from the northwest and north in the neighborhoods of Castle Hayne and Holly Shelter Swamp in northern Wilmington (Figure 3-9).

Population Overview

From its founding, Wilmington quickly grew to become one of North Carolina's largest cities. From the mid-1800s

to the early 1900s, it was the state's largest urban area, and though cities on the Piedmont had begun to overtake it, it remained among the state's ten largest municipalities during the 1950s and 1960s (Ingalls 2000: 108). By 1950, Wilmington had a population of 63,272, which grew to 71,742 in 1960, and 82,996 in 1970 (US Census 1950, 1960, 1970).

Like most cities in the American South during the 1950s and 1960s, Wilmington was not densely settled. The city had a population density of 1.2 persons per hectare in 1950, a figure which grew to 1.4 in 1960, and 1.6 in 1970. While overall density levels were low, internally, levels of urbanization varied greatly (Table 3-2 and Figure 3-12). For instance, among the city's neighborhoods, population density ranged from 38.0 persons per hectare in Dawson/Wooster to 0.3 persons per hectare in Holly Shelter Swamp in 1970. Generally, population density was greatest in neighborhoods within the Central Subregion, site of Wilmington's CBD and segregation-era black majority neighborhoods, while population density was lowest in the largely rural neighborhoods of Holly Shelter Swamp, Castle Hayne, and Porter's Neck and the beach communities of Wrightsville Beach and Federal Point. Wilmington's remaining neighborhoods had intermediate levels of

Table 3-2: Wilmington Population Density Per Neighborhood, 1970

Neighborhood	Population Density[1]	Population	Area (In Hectares)	Subregion
Dawson/Wooster	38.0	5,201	136.7	Central
Historic District	29.6	3,581	120.8	Central
Greenfield Lake	21.1	3,327	157.5	Southern
Courthouse	20.4	3,508	172.2	Central
Carolina Heights	18.9	4,132	218.5	Central
Forest Hills	12.7	3,143	246.8	Inner Eastern
Northside	11.6	3,027	262.2	Central
Sunset Heights	10.9	2,717	248.3	Southern
Audubon	8.8	4,943	561.7	Inner Eastern
Shipyard	7.6	3,742	495.2	Southern
Waterfront	6.5	1,605	246.0	Central
Lakeview	4.7	1,419	301.9	Southern
Chestnut Heights	4.3	3,101	723.4	Inner Eastern
Country Club Estates	3.6	2,701	759.5	Inner Eastern
Winter Park	3.3	5,995	1,796.2	Outer Eastern
Masonboro	2.0	8,727	4,390.8	Outer Eastern
Porter's Neck	0.9	4,025	4,656.4	Outer Eastern
Federal Point	0.8	6,966	8,372.9	Outer Eastern
Castle Hayne	0.5	5,107	10,646.4	Northern
Wrightsville Beach	0.5	1,715	3,661.0	Outer Eastern
Holly Shelter Swamp	0.3	4,314	13,277.9	Northern
Citywide Average	**1.6**	**3,952**	**2,450.1**	

Note: 1. Population density = persons per hectare.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

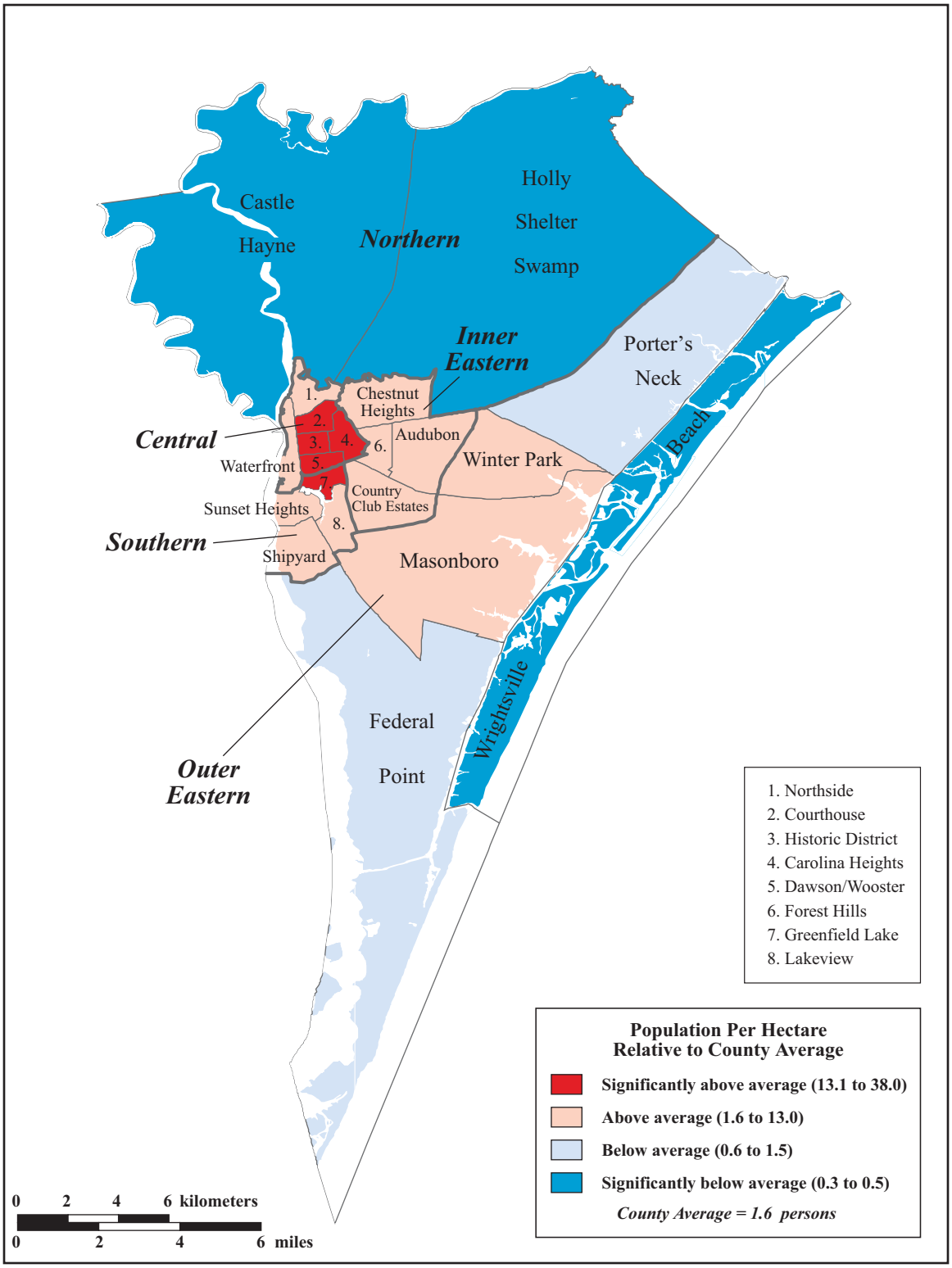

Figure 3-12: Wilmington Population Density Per Neighborhood, 1970

urbanization with neighborhoods closer to the Central Subregion more densely settled than neighborhoods further away.

Racial Distribution

From its founding, Wilmington has had a racially mixed population.[3] While the city's settlers were whites of British descent, Wilmington's black population grew quickly and, by 1742, only 12 years after the city's founding, constituted two-thirds of the local population (Gehron 2005). Throughout most of the 19th century, blacks constituted a majority of the city's population. However, after race riots in 1898, the relative size of Wilmington's black community began to decline (Tetterton 2004). By 1950, Wilmington's population was 31.4 percent black, a figure which fell to 28.8 percent in 1960 and 22.6 percent in 1970 (US Census 1950, 1960, 1970).

While Wilmington has long had a racially mixed population, its intra-urban landscape has been far less integrated. Deed restrictions, economics, and cultural

3 While racial groups other than blacks and whites constitute a notable portion of the population in some sections of the United States, during the 1950s and 1960s, this was not normally the case in the American South. For instance, in Wilmington, only 336 people, or less than one-half of one percent of the population in 1970, identified themselves as belonging to a racial group other than black or white.

norms created strong divides on where Wilmington's white and black populations chose to live during the late segregation period. For instance, in 1970, the percentage of population that was black in Wilmington's neighborhoods ranged from a high of 99.5 percent in Northside to a low of 0.0 percent in Wrightsville Beach and Lakeview (Table 3-3 and Figure 3-13). All of the neighborhoods with black majority populations (Northside, Dawson/Wooster, Courthouse, and Historic District) were situated in the Central Subregion, while neighborhoods with the smallest black populations were in middle- to working-class neighborhoods such as Lakeview, Sunset Heights, and Shipyard, the beach community of Wrightsville Beach, and wealthy neighborhoods such as Country Club Estates and Forest Hills. Among the remaining neighborhoods, those in which agriculture was traditionally strong (Holly Shelter Swamp and Castle Hayne) or those within or closer to the Central Subregion (such as Carolina Heights, Waterfront, and Chestnut Heights) generally had larger black populations.

Table 3-3: Wilmington Percentage Black Population Per Neighborhood, 1970

Neighborhood	Percentage Black	Black Population	Subregion
Northside	99.5	3,011	Central
Dawson/Wooster	92.5	4,812	Central
Courthouse	81.3	2,851	Central
Historic District	75.6	2,708	Central
Carolina Heights	31.9	1,318	Central
Holly Shelter Swamp	26.8	1,156	Northern
Waterfront	12.8	206	Central
Chestnut Heights	10.9	337	Inner Eastern
Castle Hayne	9.3	473	Northern
Federal Point	6.8	475	Outer Eastern
Audubon	6.0	298	Inner Eastern
Greenfield Lake	5.8	194	Southern
Porter's Neck	5.2	210	Outer Eastern
Winter Park	4.5	270	Outer Eastern
Masonboro	3.2	281	Outer Eastern
Forest Hills	2.0	64	Inner Eastern
Shipyard	0.8	29	Southern
Country Club Estates	0.5	13	Inner Eastern
Sunset Heights	0.1	3	Southern
Wrightsville Beach	0.0	0	Outer Eastern
Lakeview	0.0	0	Southern
Citywide Average	**22.6**	**891**	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

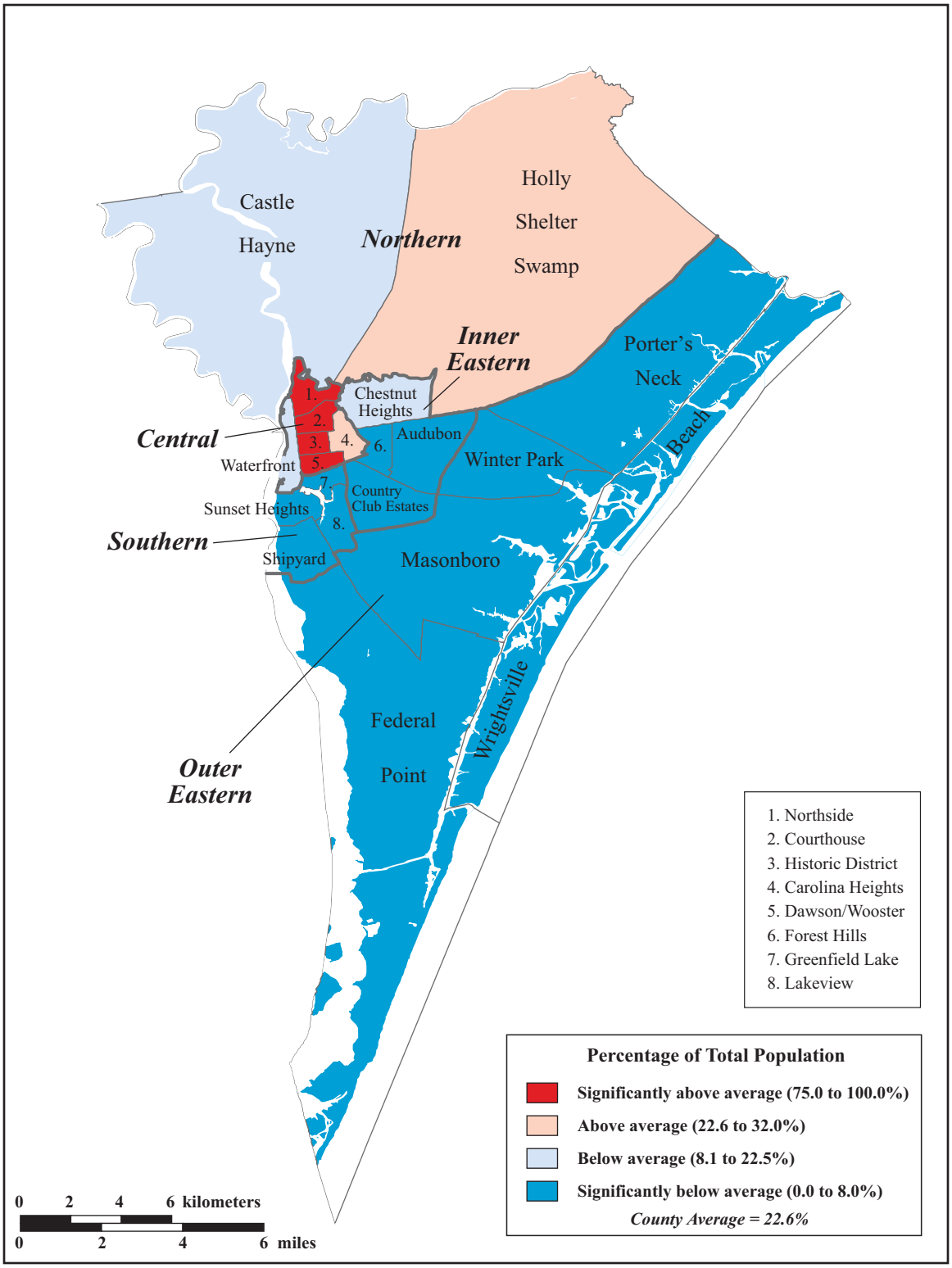

Figure 3-13: Wilmington Percentage Black Population Per Neighborhood, 1970

Income Distribution

Wilmington's status as a port city, railroad hub, and regional center for agricultural, retail, and government services helped to create a stable, though not rapidly growing, economy during the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to hosting traditional employers, such as the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and the port, institutional employers, such as New Hanover Memorial Hospital (the main referral medical center in southeastern North Carolina) and Wilmington College (now known as the University of North Carolina at Wilmington), were becoming increasingly important to the local economy. The Wilmington economy supported not only a substantial middle income population but also a sizable wealthy community when compared to other American South urban areas.

As of 1970, Wilmington had a mean per capita income of $9,368. However, income was not spread evenly among the population. On a neighborhood basis, per capita income ranged from a high of $21,165 in Country Club Estates to a low of $4,187 in Dawson/Wooster (Table 3-4 and Figure 3-14). Generally, per capita income was highest in neighborhoods within the Inner Eastern and Outer Eastern subregions (such as Country Club Estates, Forest Hills, and

Table 3-4: Wilmington Mean Family Income Per Neighborhood, 1970

Neighborhood	Mean Family Income (1970 US$)	Subregion
Country Club Estates	21,165	Inner Eastern
Forest Hills	13,915	Inner Eastern
Masonboro	12,653	Outer Eastern
Lakeview	11,583	Southern
Porter's Neck	10,936	Outer Eastern
Wrightsville Beach	10,884	Outer Eastern
Winter Park	9,679	Outer Eastern
Holly Shelter Swamp	9,669	Northern
Audubon	9,593	Inner Eastern
Chestnut Heights	9,412	Inner Eastern
Castle Hayne	9,135	Northern
Sunset Heights	8,713	Southern
Federal Point	8,526	Outer Eastern
Carolina Heights	8,200	Central
Shipyard	7,645	Southern
Greenfield Lake	6,185	Southern
Historic District	5,850	Central
Courthouse	5,729	Central
Northside	4,579	Central
Waterfront	4,361	Central
Dawson/Wooster	4,187	Central
Citywide Average	**9,368**	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

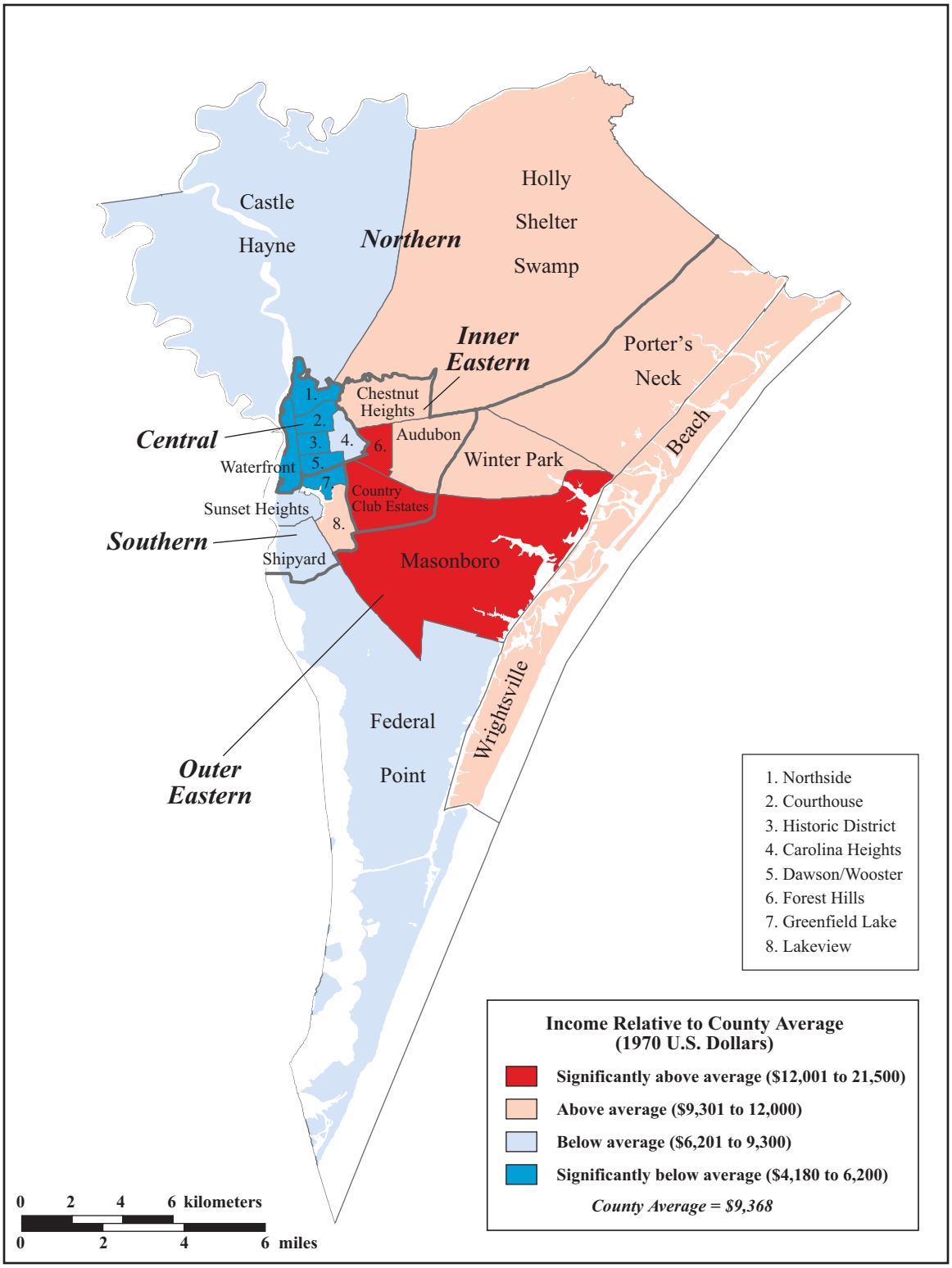

Figure 3-14: Wilmington Mean Family Income Per Neighborhood, 1970

Masonboro), while income was lowest in neighborhoods within the Central Subregion (such as Dawson/Wooster, Waterfront, and Northside) containing sizable or black majority populations. Within the remaining neighborhoods (primarily in the Northern and Southern subregions), intermediate levels of income occurred, with neighborhoods adjacent to the Inner Eastern and Outer Eastern subregions generally having higher incomes than neighborhoods adjacent to, or within, the Central Subregion.

Educational Accomplishment

During the mid-20th century, Wilmington could best be described as average in terms of educational attainment when compared to other cities in the American South. The city's primary employers mostly created jobs in which some level of secondary schooling was preferred, though a high school diploma or a college degree was not required. Wilmington College was beginning to grow, but it was not yet large enough to impact the average level of education or provide the "college town" atmosphere the city would later acquire.

Hence, by 1970, the population of Wilmington had on average completed 12.0 years of education and 50 percent

had received a high school diploma (US Census 1970). As with income, notable differences in educational attainment existed among segments of Wilmington's population. On a neighborhood basis, average educational attainment varied from a high of 13.6 years of schooling in Country Club Estates to a low of 7.9 years in Northside (Table 3-5 and Figure 3-15). Generally, neighborhoods with the highest levels of educational attainment were situated in the Inner Eastern or Outer Eastern subregions (such as Country Club Estates, Forest Hills, and Wrightsville Beach), while neighborhoods with the lowest levels of educational attainment were situated in the Central Subregion. Remaining neighborhoods, mostly in the Northern and Southern subregions, had intermediate levels of educational attainment.

Typical of the American South

The patterns that have been described in the prior sections indicate that Wilmington in the mid-20th century was highly segregated by race, income, education, and land use. While specific to Wilmington, these patterns can be viewed as exemplars of what was typical in most American South cities during this period. The US Supreme Court's

Table 3-5: Wilmington Median Years of Education Per Neighborhood, 1970

Neighborhood	Median Years of Education	Subregion
Country Club Estates	13.6	Inner Eastern
Forest Hills	13.4	Inner Eastern
Wrightsville Beach	13.2	Outer Eastern
Masonboro	12.6	Outer Eastern
Lakeview	12.4	Southern
Audubon	12.4	Inner Eastern
Porter's Neck	12.3	Outer Eastern
Chestnut Heights	12.2	Inner Eastern
Winter Park	12.1	Outer Eastern
Sunset Heights	11.6	Southern
Federal Point	11.4	Outer Eastern
Castle Hayne	11.4	Northern
Holly Shelter Swamp	11.3	Northern
Carolina Heights	11.3	Central
Greenfield Lake	10.7	Southern
Shipyard	10.3	Southern
Waterfront	9.7	Central
Historic District	9.5	Central
Dawson/Wooster	9.5	Central
Courthouse	9.3	Central
Northside	7.9	Central
Citywide Average	**12.0**	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

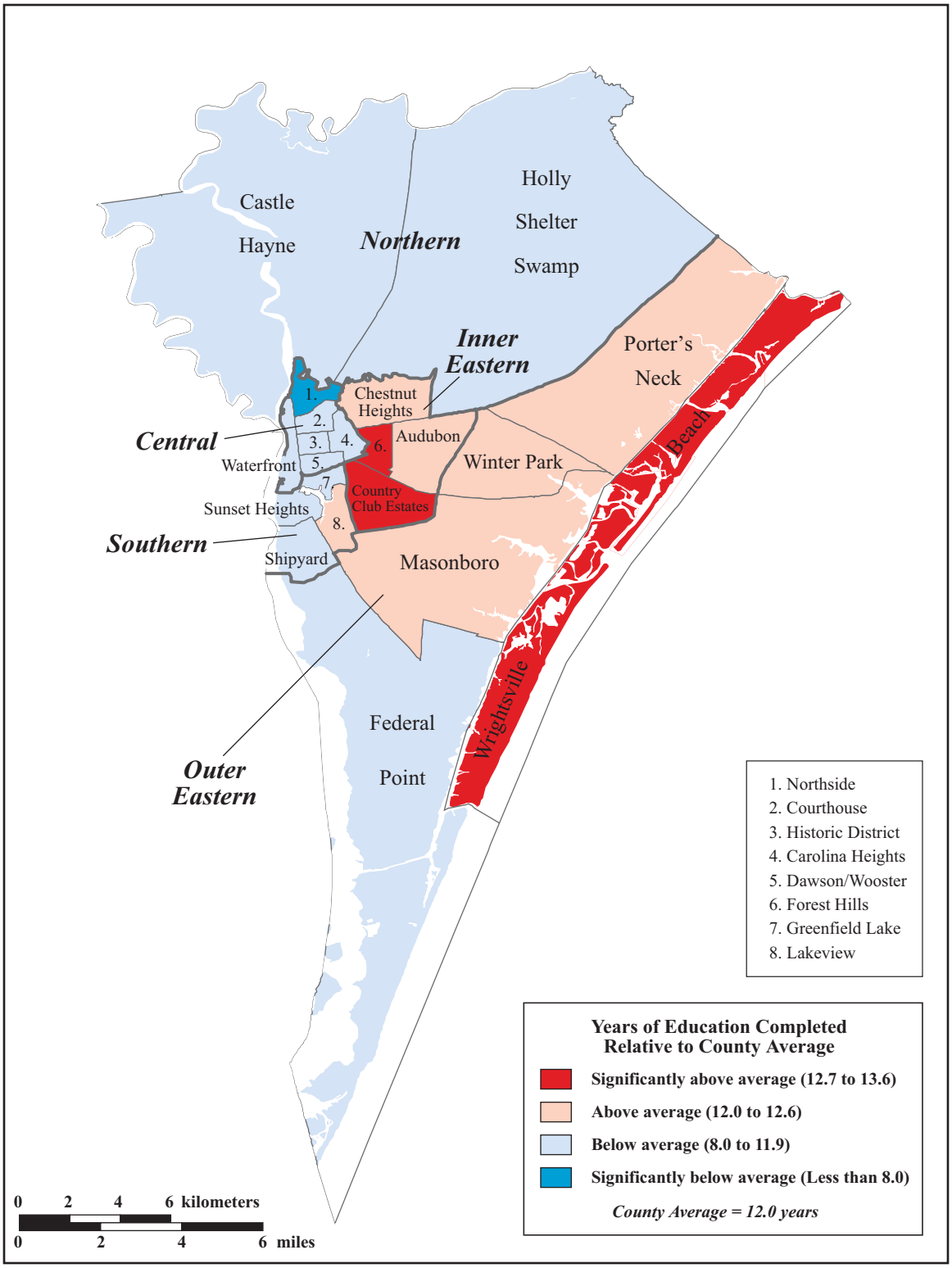

Figure 3-15: Wilmington Median Years of Education Per Neighborhood, 1970

decision in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) made it illegal for government to mandate racially based residential segregation. However, deed restrictions, economic segregation, and cultural norms clearly achieved what the government had not been allowed to do. Hence, by the 1950s, norms from earlier historical periods in the American South in which blacks and whites often lived in proximity to one another had been largely swept away and replaced by rigid patterns of racial segregation.

Wilmington during the late-segregation and early post-segregation periods was typical of the American South. The community reflected the region's population growth patterns, racial complexion, and socioeconomic composition. By 1970, the Wilmington urbanized area had a population of 82,996, while the larger Wilmington Standardized Metropolitan Statistical Area had a population of 107,219 (US Census 1970). Like much of the American South, Wilmington's population was in the midst of making the transition from a rural/small city culture to one with a metropolitan outlook and perspective. After 1950, the city experienced steady population growth. Averaging 1.6 percent or 1,000 persons per year, the population increase was indicative of the pattern observed throughout North

Carolina and the American South, which during the period grew at per annum rates of 1.3 percent and 1.7 percent (US Census 1950, 1960, 1970).

Another example of Wilmington being typical was the city's racial composition. In 1970, blacks constituted 22.5 percent of Wilmington's population, which is almost identical the North Carolina average of 22.2 and close to the American South average of 20.4 (US Census 1970). A third example of Wilmington fitting the average is the city's median per capita income. At $2,594, it was midway between the North Carolina and American South averages of $2,474 and $2,620 (US Census 1970).

It is because of Wilmington's typicality that it was chosen as a study area for the dissertation. In doing so, the premise was that the patterns of change identified in forthcoming chapters might not merely indicate what happened in Wilmington during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods but also mirror what was happening in most American South cities.

Chapter 4: The South Africa Study Area of Bloemfontein

Bloemfontein is a mid-sized city situated in central South Africa and serves as the national judicial capital and the Free State provincial capital. This chapter provides an overview of demographic and socioeconomic conditions in the city during the 1990s. Additionally, a case is made that Bloemfontein serves as an exemplar of the "typical" South African city during the late apartheid (1984-1994) and early post-apartheid (1995-1998) periods. As such, the community is an ideal case study for discerning the impacts that the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid periods had on real estate and business conditions in most South African cities.

Historical Overview

The city of Bloemfontein was founded in 1846 as a trading post and fortification along a tributary of the Modder River on the High Veld (plain or field) in central South Africa (Webster's Geographical Dictionary 2001: 150). Throughout the 1800s, Bloemfontein's location at a fertile

spring in an otherwise steppe climate region allowed it to serve as a crossroads through which Voortrekker (Afrikaner/ Boer) and later English settlers passed on the way to the booming South African agricultural and mining frontier. In 1854, the city became the capital of the Oranje Vrystaat (Orange Free State) Boer republic. In 1902, upon defeat of the Oranje Vrystaat by the British in the Anglo-Boer War, the city was redesignated as the capital of the Orange River Colony, which later became the Oranje Vrystaat province and later the Free State province. With the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1906, Bloemfontein was designated South Africa's judicial capital and became home to the Supreme Court of Appeals, South Africa's senior court for non-constitutional matters (Burger 2003: 163). Bloemfontein's growth as a governmental center helped solidify its position as central South Africa's largest retail and service center. Today, the city is home to central South Africa's primary university and community college, as well as its largest and most comprehensive medical facilities, including the region's largest private hospital and only medical school.

Physical Overview

Bloemfontein is situated within a high-altitude semiarid environment. Located atop the high veld plateau, the city has an average elevation of 1,422 meters (4,665 feet) and a generally flat topography punctuated occasionally by mesa-like hills referred to locally as koppies (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 14). The city has a steppe climate and receives an average of 55 centimeters (21.7 inches) of precipitation per year. The annual average temperature is 16.1 degrees Celsius (61.0 F); the summertime peak monthly average is 22.6 degrees Celsius (72.7 F) in January, and the wintertime minimum monthly average is 8.35 degrees Celsius (47.0 F) in July. The aridity of the climate has had a notable impact on the city's development by making the construction of anything denser than rural farmstead difficult in locations not serviced by piped water. This need for piped water has created leverage that the government has used to minimize sprawl and guide development along the city's edge. Though faced with a paucity of rainfall, irrigation and other commercial agricultural practices have enabled the Bloemfontein area to become an important agricultural region. Situated at the southern end of South Africa’s

"golden triangle," which extends from the Free State province northward into the North-West province and northeast into Gauteng province, commodities raised in the Bloemfontein area include maize, cereal grains, and livestock such as cattle and sheep (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 613).

Bloemfontein Subregions and Neighborhoods

For the purpose of this study, Bloemfontein has been divided into seven subregions which are further subdivided into thirty-four neighborhoods (Table 4-1 and Figure 4-1).[1] The neighborhoods match census suburb boundaries delineated by Statistics South Africa.[2]

The Central Subregion, comprised of seven neighborhoods (Stad, Arboretum, Hilton, Navalsig, Oranjesig, Westdene, and Willows), includes the CBD, which encompasses Stad and portions of Oranjesig, Westdene, and Willows. The subregion contains a mixture of commercial, government, and residential land uses. Government land uses within the subregion include the South African Court of Appeals, the

1 For the purpose of this study, Bloemfontein refers to the section of the Bloemfontein Magisterial District that has been designated as urbanized by Statistics South Africa.
2 The census subplace is a geographic unit similar in size and purpose to a census tract in the United States.

Table 4-1: Bloemfontein Subregions and Neighborhoods, 1998

Subregion	Neighborhood	Area (In Hectares)
Central	Arboretum	72
	Hilton	68
	Navalsig	83
	Oranjesig	204
	Stad	251
	Westdene	180
	Willows	243
		1,101
Eastern	Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	*20,179*
Northern	Bayswater	701
	Dan Pienaar	360
	Heliconhoogte	66
	Heuwelsig	158
	Hillsboro	21
	Noordhoek	114
	Pentagonpark	48
	Waverly	197
		1,665
Southeastern	Heidedal	605
	Mangaung	2,723
		3,328
Southern	Ehrlichpark	1,131
	Hamilton	470
		1,601
Southwestern	Fauna	323
	Fitchardtpark	553
	Fleurdal	104
	Gardeniapark	119
	Generaal de Wet	235
	Hospitaalpark	135
	Lourierpark	589
	Pellissier	368
	Uitsig	195
	Wilgehof	178
		2,799
Western	Brandwag	146
	Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	4,505
	Parkwes	461
	Universitas	551
		5,663

Source: Statistics South Africa, 1991.

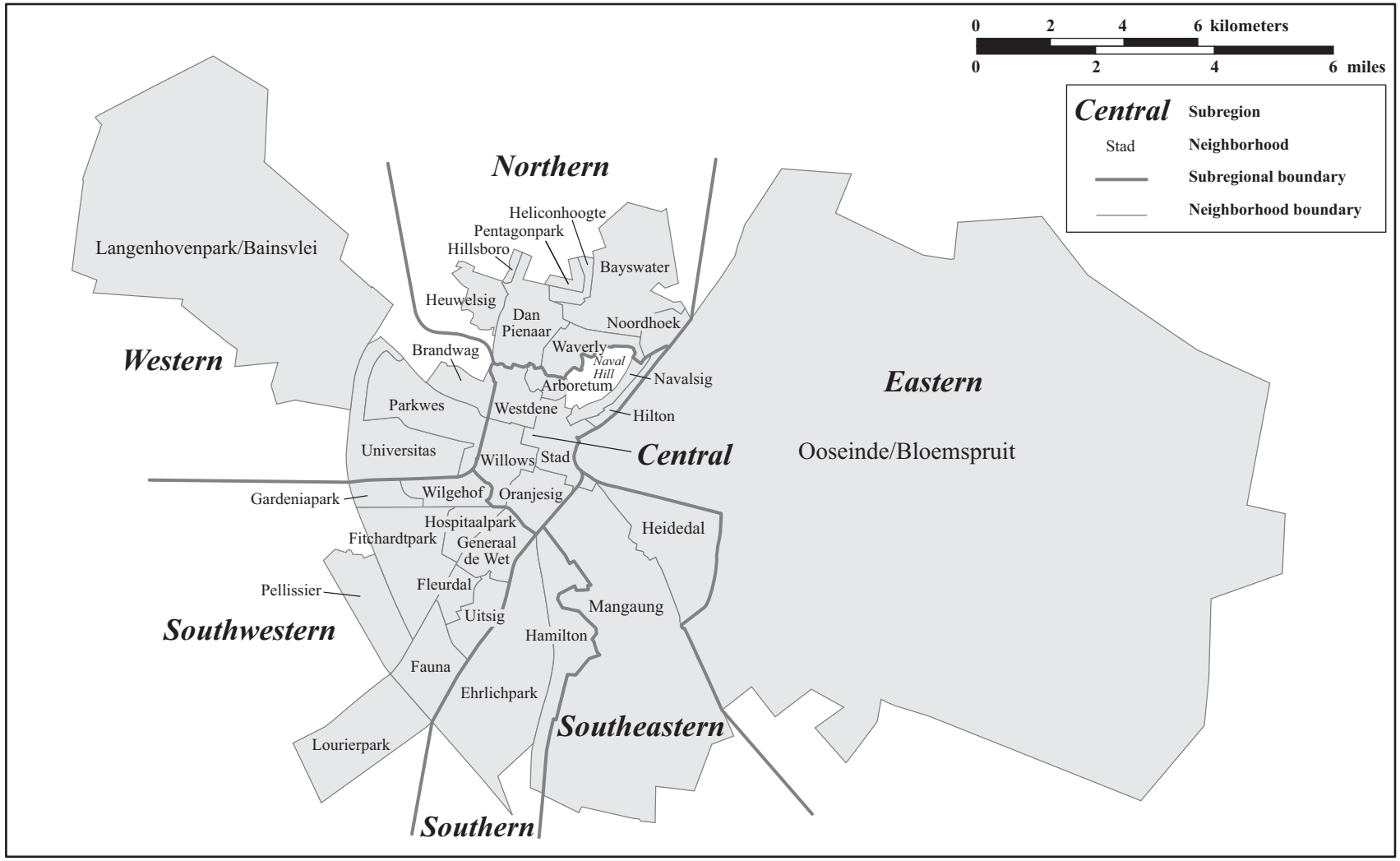

Figure 4-1: Bloemfontein Subregions and Neighborhoods, 1998

Free State Provincial Offices, the Mangaung (Bloemfontein) Municipal Offices, the National and Orange hospitals (two of three government-owned medical institutions for civilians constructed during apartheid for Bloemfontein's white population), and the Vrystaat Teknikon (a technical and community college) (Figure 4-2). While consisting of a mixture of residential properties, the Central Subregion contains more multi-unit residential properties than any other subregion in the city. During apartheid, residential areas within the Central Subregion were designated for use by Bloemfontein's white population.

The Southeastern Subregion is comprised of two neighborhoods and is the site of apartheid-era townships for Bloemfontein's black and coloured populations (in Mangaung and Heidedal, respectively). The subregion primarily contains residential land use though government facilities (such as Pelonomi Hospital constructed during apartheid specifically for Bloemfontein's black and coloured populations) and community-level shopping centers are also located in the neighborhoods. Most residential properties in the subregion are single-family homes that range in size and construction quality from shanties to multi-story mid-sized homes (Figures 4-3 and 4-4).

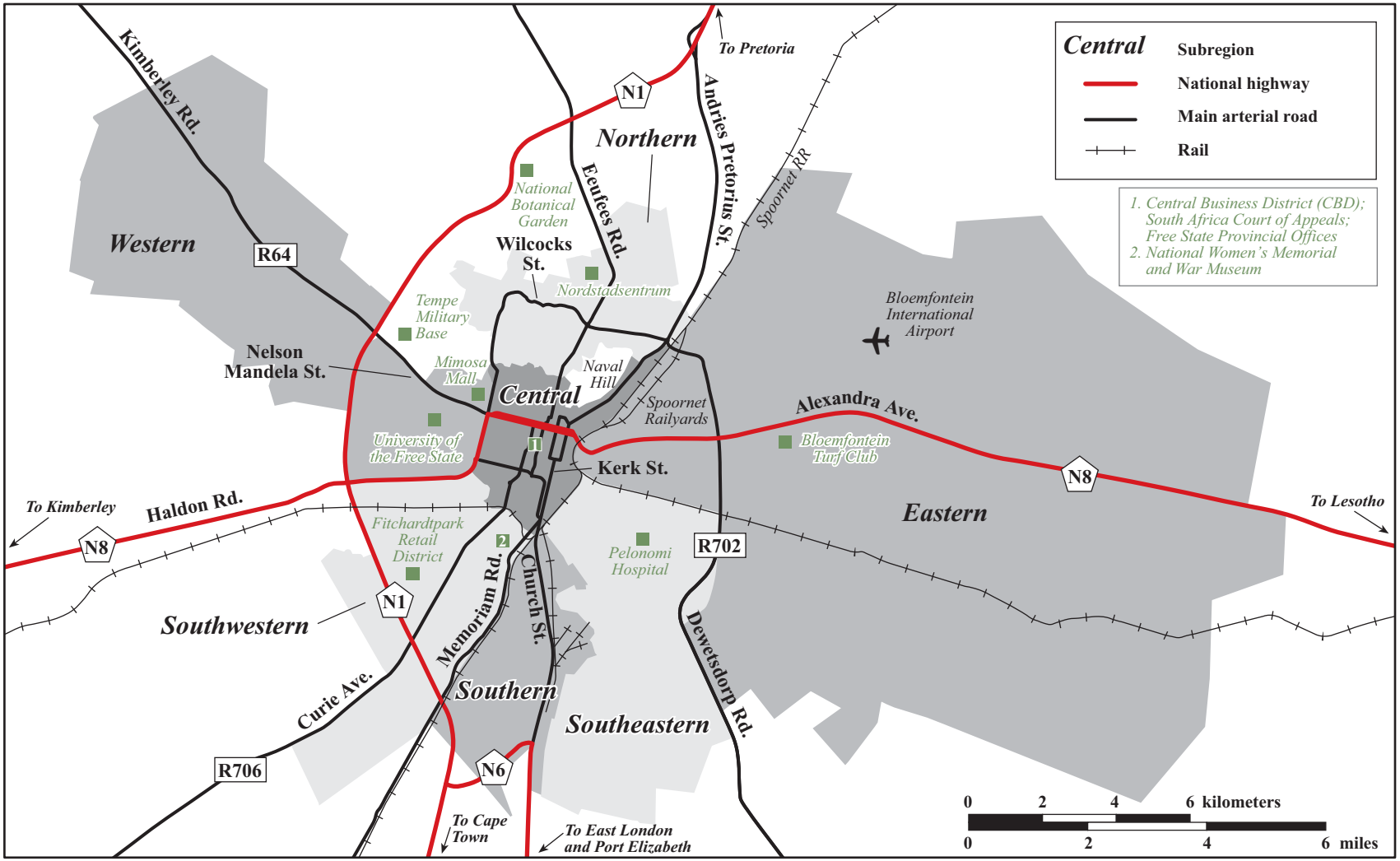

Figure 4-2: Bloemfontein Transportation Network and Points of Interest, 1998

Figure 4-3: Examples of Housing in Historically Black Neighborhoods in Bloemfontein

Figure 4-4: Examples of Housing in Historically Coloured Neighborhoods in Bloemfontein

The Southern Subregion, comprised of two neighborhoods (Hamilton and Ehrlichpark), is one of two subregions that contain most of Bloemfontein's industrial properties. The subregion also includes large amounts of working class residential properties and some community-level commercial land use (Figure 4-5). A majority of the residences are single-story mid-sized single-family units. Bisected by Church/Kerk Street, the subregion's industrial and commercial land uses are located almost entirely to the east in the neighborhood of Hamilton, while the residential properties are situated to the west in Ehrlichpark. During apartheid, residential properties in the Southern Subregion were reserved for Bloemfontein's white population.

The Southwestern Subregion, comprised of ten neighborhoods (Fauna, Fitchardtpark, Fleurdal, Gardeniapark, Generaal de Wet, Hospitaalpark, Lourierpark, Pellissier, Uitsig, and Wilgehof), contains most of Bloemfontein's middle-class housing (Figure 4-6) and one of three regional-level commercial nodes situated outside the Central Subregion. The retail node, Fitchardtpark Retail District (Figure 4-2), is centered around two regional-level shopping malls and is situated near the center of the subregion in the neighborhoods of Fichardtpark and Fleurdal.

Figure 4-5: Examples of Working-Class Housing in Bloemfontein

Figure 4-6: Examples of Middle-Class Housing in Bloemfontein

In addition to residential and commercial land use, two notable government facilities are located within the subregion, namely, the National Women's Memorial and War Museum eulogizing Afrikaner women and children who died in British concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer wars, and the Bloemfontein Agricultural Fairgrounds. Most residential properties within the Southwestern Subregion are single-story, mid-sized to large single-family units. During apartheid, residential areas within the subregion were designated for use by Bloemfontein's white population.

The Western Subregion, comprised of four neighborhoods (Brandwag, Parkwes, Universitas, and Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei), is one of two subregions that contain the majority of Bloemfontein's upper-middle class housing (Figure 4-7). It also has the largest of three regional-level commercial nodes situated outside the Central Subregion. This commercial node, the Mimosa Mall area (Figure 4-2), is anchored by three regional-level shopping malls, the MediClinic Bloemfontein (a privately owned hospital), and the only large-scale concentration of office buildings outside the Central Subregion. In addition, the subregion contains several important government land uses including Tempe Military Base (a South

Figure 4-7: Examples of Upper-Middle Class and Wealthy Housing in Bloemfontein

African Army installation), the University of the Free State, and Universitas Hospital (the third of three government-owned civilian medical facilities constructed for Bloemfontein's white population during apartheid). The majority of residential properties in the subregion are mid- to large-sized single-family homes. During apartheid, residential areas in the Western Subregion were reserved for Bloemfontein's white population.

The Northern Subregion, comprised of seven neighborhoods (Bayswater, Heliconhoogte, Heuwelsig, Hillsboro, Dan Pienaar, Noordhoek, Pentagonpark and Waverly), primarily contains wealthy and upper-middle class housing (Figure 4-7), though the Bayswater and Noordhoek neighborhoods on the eastern edge of the subregion contain a substantial amount of middle-class housing (Figure 4-6). The subregion also contains the third of three regional-level commercial nodes, Nordstadsentrum, situated outside the Central Subregion and several important community-level shopping centers (Figure 4-2). The National Botanical Gardens and the Olienwenhuis Art Museum are located in the subregion. Most residences in the subregion are mid- to large-sized houses. During apartheid, residential areas in the subregion were designated for Bloemfontein's white

population.

The Eastern Subregion is comprised of the Ooseinde/Bloemspruit neighborhood, a large tract with a significant amount of industrial, transportation, recreation, and exurban residential land uses. Key institutions located in the subregion include the Bloemfontein International Airport, the Spoornet rail yards, Air Force Base Bloemspruit, the Bloemfontein Turf Club (Horse Track), and both of the city's public golf courses (Figure 4-2). The subregion has few commercial establishments and most of the residences are mid-sized single-family homes on large plots in an exurban or semi-rural setting. During apartheid, most of the residential areas within the subregion were designated for use by Bloemfontein's white population, with the exception of several hostel compounds that were erected for use by blacks working for industries in the subregion.

Transportation Infrastructure

Situated near the geographic center of South Africa, Bloemfontein is an important transportation nexus. Key national highways and railways converge on the city and Bloemfontein's airfield is the busiest in the Free State

province. Blessed by this advantageous location, transportation-related employment has been an important factor in the growth and the development of the city.

Located astride South Africa's N1 (national-level) highway that stretches from Cape Town through Johannesburg and Pretoria to the Zimbabwean border, Bloemfontein is an important highway stopover and transshipment center (Figure 4-2). Historically, the N1 was routed through the city's CBD. However, in recent years, a bypass for the highway has been constructed along the western edge of the city to help separate long-haul from local traffic. Other key highways that converge on Bloemfontein include the N8, which stretches west towards Kimberley and east towards the country of Lesotho, and the N6, which extends southeast towards East London and Port Elizabeth.

Within Bloemfontein, most arterials converge on the CBD, located in the Central Subregion. Major corridors include Andries Pretorius Street and Eeufees Road to the north, Nelson Mandela Street to the west, Haldon Road and Curie Avenue to the southwest, Memoriam Road and Church/Kerk Street to the south, and Alexandra Avenue to the east. Wilcocks Street and Dewetsdorp Road serve as a circumferential highway to the east, north, and west of the

CBD. Most of Bloemfontein's remaining streets are laid out in a series of grids, with numerous interconnections among the grids located in the Central, Southwestern, and Western subregions of the city. Connections with and among grids in the remaining portions of the city are less numerous. In particular, the street grids in southeastern Bloemfontein, the site of apartheid-era neighborhoods for the city's black and coloured populations, are only marginally connected with one another and have few connections with the remainder of the city.

Bloemfontein is also an important rail hub and employment center. Railway infrastructure in the city includes mainline and regional tracks, switching and classification yards, transshipment warehouses, and repair shops associated with Spoornet, South Africa's national railroad (Figure 4-2). The Spoornet mainline running from Cape Town to Johannesburg/Pretoria bisects Bloemfontein from southwest to northeast, while regional tracks enter the city from the west and east. Collectively, the tracks separate most of Bloemfontein's historically white neighborhoods from those for blacks and coloureds. The majority of classification yards, warehouses, and repair shops are situated northeast of the CBD. During apartheid,

Spoornet (then known as South African Railways) was a primary institution through which the Government of South Africa worked to uplift economically the Afrikaner community (Harrison 1981: 82). It accomplished this goal not only by having the railway employ large numbers of Afrikaners, but also by having the railway provide housing and recreational amenities for its workers. Though the railway has divested itself of most of its housing, the railway's cultural institutions such as social clubs, sport grounds, and a golf course continue to be located in the northeastern and eastern areas of the city and are visible reminders of that period.

Bloemfontein is home to the busiest airfield in the Free State province. Located approximately five kilometers east of the CBD, Bloemfontein International Airport draws passengers not only from the city and other areas within the Free State province, but also travelers headed to and from Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, located approximately 140 kilometers east of Bloemfontein. In addition to hosting commercial traffic, the airfield also houses Air Force Base Bloemspruit, a South African Air Force installation.

Business and Commercial Distribution

Bloemfontein is an important government center, hosting a number of institutions such as the South African Court of Appeals, the Free State Provincial government, the University of the Free State, the Vrystaat Teknikon, and Spoornet Railways. The city's status as a government hub coupled with the fact that it is the largest urban area in central South Africa has spurred the creation of an economically viable city. Although it has relatively few corporate headquarters, Bloemfontein serves as the regional headquarters within central South Africa for many of the country's corporations. In addition, it is an important agricultural marketing and service center and a transportation center. Its multifaceted economy has led to the development of a robust industrial, office, and retail landscape. Neighborhoods with notable concentrations of business activity include Stad, Westdene, Willows, and Oranjesig in the Central Subregion, Brandwag and Parkwes in the Western Subregion, Fichardtpark and Fleurdal in the Southwestern Subregion, Hamilton in the Southern Subregion, Ooseinde/Bloemspruit in the Eastern Subregion, and Bayswater in the Northern Subregion.

By the mid-1990s, retail and office land use, while

more widely distributed than industrial activity, was clustered primarily in four nodes around the city. The CBD, the oldest and largest of the nodes and located within the Central Subregion, included the super-regional shopping malls of Sanlam Center and Middlestadsentrum along with branches of most major South African retailers, government offices, and the regional headquarters of most of the major South African companies which had a presence in the city (Figures 4-2 and 4-8). The second largest node was the Mimosa Mall area in the Western Subregion. The area included Mimosa Mall (Bloemfontein's only super-regional retail center not situated in the CBD), several additional shopping centers such as Brandwagsentrum and Kollege Winkelsentrum, office buildings, hotels, and the city's only private hospital, MediClinic Bloemfontein (Figure 4-9). The third node was Fichardtpark Retail District. Located in the neighborhoods of Fichardtpark and Fleurdal, the node included two large community-level shopping centers that served as the primary locus for retail activity in southern Bloemfontein. The fourth node was Nordstadsentrum located in the Bayswater neighborhood. As with the Fichardtpark Retail District, Nordstadsentrum was a community-level node. It served as the locus for retail

Figure 4-8: Examples of Businesses Within the Central Subregion of Bloemfontein

Figure 4-9: Examples of Suburban Businesses in Bloemfontein

activity in northern Bloemfontein.

During the mid-1990s, industrial, warehouse, and transshipment activity was even more clustered than retail and office land use in Bloemfontein. The neighborhoods of Hamilton in the Southern Subregion and Ooseinde/Bloemspruit in the Eastern Subregion served as the primary locations for such land use, with residual activity primarily clustered along the margin of the CBD in the Central Subregion.

Population Overview

From its founding in 1846 by Voortrekker and British immigrants, Bloemfontein quickly grew to become one of South Africa's largest urban centers. Initially in competition with Kimberley to be the largest city in central South Africa, Bloemfontein surpassed its neighbor in the early 20th century after the Kimberley diamond rush subsided. By 1980, Bloemfontein, with a population of 198,343, was South Africa's fifth largest urban area, a status it retained in 1991 and 2001 when its population was 300,150 and 365,019, respectively (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 31; South African Census 1991, 2001).

The aridity of central South Africa's climate and the

resultant reliance on piped water to support urban development helped to make Bloemfontein a relatively compact and densely settled city. With a density of 18.3 persons per hectare in 1991, the greater Bloemfontein area was far more densely settled than most cities in the American South (South African Census 1991). For instance, Atlanta, a metropolitan area with ten-fold the population of Bloemfontein's, today has a density of only 5.1 persons per hectare, less than one-third that for Bloemfontein. Even the city of Atlanta, the most densely settled section of the Atlanta metropolitan area, has a population density of only 13.2 (Atlanta Regional Commission 2006).

While the Bloemfontein urbanized area as a whole was densely settled, at the neighborhood level, patterns of urbanization varied greatly (Table 4-2 and Figure 4-10). For instance, among the city's neighborhoods, population density ranged from 67.3 persons per hectare in Hilton to 0.1 persons per hectare in Hamilton. Generally, population density was greatest in neighborhoods within the Central and Southeastern subregions, where Bloemfontein's CBD and apartheid-era townships for the city's black and coloured populations were located. Conversely, population density was lowest in the mostly industrial neighborhoods of

Table 4-2: Bloemfontein Population Density Per Neighborhood, 1991

Neighborhood	Population Density[1]	Population	Area (In Hectares)	Subregion
Hilton	67.3	4,556	68	Central
Navalsig	66.5	5,518	83	Central
Mangaung	46.1	125,544	2,723	Southeastern
Heidedal	35.9	21,733	605	Southeastern
Stad	25.4	6,389	251	Central
Wilgehof	25.2	4,483	178	Southwestern
Brandwag	25.0	3,651	146	Western
Westdene	23.4	4,202	180	Central
Hospitaalpark	20.9	2,834	135	Southwestern
Uitsig	20.2	3,937	195	Southwestern
Hillsboro	19.8	411	21	Northern
Heuwilsig	18.4	2,912	158	Northern
Fichardtpark	18.4	10,166	553	Southwestern
Dan Pienaar	18.0	6,457	360	Northern
Universitas	17.6	9,672	551	Western
Gardeniapark	17.5	2,082	119	Southwestern
Willows	17.3	4,205	243	Central
Pellissier	14.6	5,385	368	Southwestern
Noordhoek	14.2	1,616	114	Northern
Fleurdal	13.8	1,441	104	Southwestern
Waverly	13.5	2,651	197	Northern
Oranjesig	13.0	2,653	204	Central
Fauna	12.3	3,959	323	Southwestern
Generaal de Wet	11.2	2,620	235	Southwestern
Parkwes	11.1	5,099	461	Western
Arboretum	8.9	634	72	Central
Heliconhoogte	8.5	559	66	Northern
Bayswater	7.5	5,230	701	Northern
Pentagonpark	5.9	283	48	Northern
Langenhovenpark/ Bainsvlei	3.0	13,660	4,505	Western
Ehrlichpark	1.0	1,093	1,131	Southern
Lourierpark	0.7	396	589	Southwestern
Ooseinde/ Bloemspruit	0.6	12,272	20,179	Eastern
Hamilton	0.1	36	470	Southern
Citywide Average	**18.3**	**8,186**	**1,069**	

Note: 1. Population density = persons per hectare.
Source: Statistics South Africa, 1991.

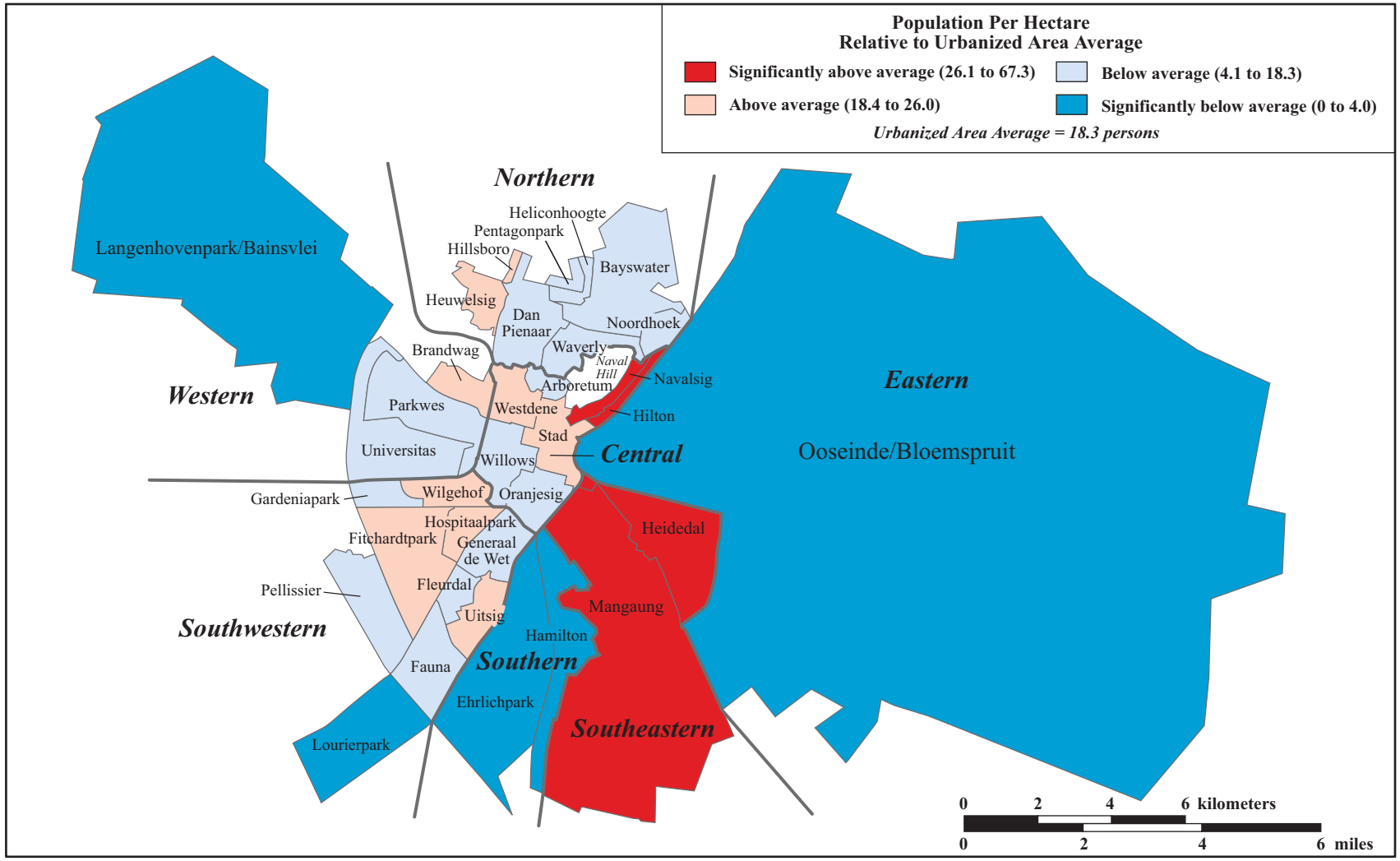

Figure 4-10: Bloemfontein Population Density Per Neighborhood, 1991

Hamilton and Ooseinde/Bloemspruit. Bloemfontein's remaining neighborhoods, mostly situated in the Southwestern, Western, and Northern subregions, had intermediate levels of population density.

Racial Distribution

From its founding in the mid-1800s, Bloemfontein has always had a racially-mixed population. Prior to the arrival of European settlers, a well-established and substantial black population comprised of the Sotho, Tswana, and Griqua nations occupied what was to become central South Africa (Davenport 1991: 13). From the mid-1800s to the mid-20th century, most land controlled by these black populations was expropriated by newly arriving Afrikaans- and English-speaking immigrants. These losses left the Sotho, Tswana, and Griqua populations increasingly reliant upon, and at the mercy of, the Afrikaner and English communities. During this period, the black population began to integrate into white society by working on immigrant-operated farms, in industries, or in shops, or blacks were forced onto lands of marginal economic quality such as the Lesotho highlands and Thaba Nchu located to the east of Bloemfontein.

By the late 20th century, though blacks constituted an overwhelming majority of South Africa's population, in urban areas such as Bloemfontein, they constituted only a large minority or a small majority of the population. For instance, in 1980, the population of Bloemfontein was 48.8 percent black, a figure which increased marginally to 54.4 percent in 1991 (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 31; South African Census 1991). However, with the start of the post-apartheid period and the concurrent loosening of legal restrictions on where blacks were allowed to live, the number of blacks residing in Bloemfontein and other South African cities rose dramatically. For instance, by 2001, Bloemfontein's population was 69.6 percent black (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 31; South African Census 2001).

While Bloemfontein has always had a racially-mixed population, its intra-urban landscape has been far less integrated due to apartheid-era laws which created strict rules on where black, coloured, and white populations were allowed to live.[3] For instance, in 1991, the percentage of population that was black in Bloemfontein's neighborhoods

3 Though persons of Asian ancestry constitute a notable portion of South Africa's overall population, the Asian community in Bloemfontein is extremely small and hence has had relatively little impact on the city's patterns of population or housing. As of 1991, only 437 persons, or two-tenths of one percent of the city's population, was of Asian ancestry (South African Census 1991).

ranged from a high of 99.2 percent in Mangaung to a low of 2.0 percent in Lourierpark (Table 4-3 and Figure 4-11). Similarly, Bloemfontein's coloured community was also highly segregated with 88.5 percent of that population living in just one neighborhood, Heidedal. Generally, neighborhoods with large black or coloured populations tended to be areas that included apartheid-era townships (Mangaung and Heidedal), industrial or agricultural neighborhoods (such as Ooseinde/Bloemspruit, Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei, and Hamilton), areas with older or multi-unit housing deemed less desirable by the white population (such as Navalsig), or areas containing wealthy populations that employed blacks and coloureds as live-in domestic help (such as Waverly and Dan Pienaar). Conversely, neighborhoods with the smallest black and coloured populations tended to be areas with large numbers of university or college students (such as Parkwes and Willows) or historically white middle-class neighborhoods where live-in domestic help was less common (such as Lourierpark, Pellisier, and Fauna).

Bloemfontein's white population, unlike the black and coloured communities, was fairly evenly spread across a large number of neighborhoods within the city. Though the

Table 4-3: Bloemfontein Racial Composition Per Neighborhood, 1991

Neighborhood	Percentage Black	Population Totals Per Race				Subregion
		Black	White	Coloured	Asian	
Mangaung	99.2	124,555	2	985	2	Southeastern
Ooseinde/ Bloemspruit	48.7	5,972	5,830	459	11	Eastern
Langenhovenpark/ Bainsvlei	34.7	4,742	8,446	472	0	Western
Navalsig	31.9	1,758	3,615	145	0	Central
Waverly	19.7	523	2,087	33	8	Northern
Hamilton	16.7	6	29	1	0	Southern
Bayswater	14.3	746	4,281	50	153	Northern
Dan Pienaar	14.2	919	5,472	57	9	Northern
Noordhoek	12.9	209	1,382	16	9	Northern
Generaal de Wet	11.7	306	2,293	17	4	Southwestern
Oranjesig	11.6	308	2,313	32	0	Central
Heuwilsig	10.7	313	2,554	17	28	Northern
Hillsboro	10.7	44	358	1	8	Northern
Pentagonpark	10.2	29	251	1	2	Northern
Heliconhoogte	9.8	55	488	3	13	Northern
Universitas	9.8	944	8,654	71	3	Western
Fichardtpark	9.5	969	9,113	62	22	Southwestern
Gardeniapark	8.4	175	1,890	17	0	Southwestern
Hilton	8.1	367	4,137	18	34	Central
Wilgehof	8.1	361	4,081	41	0	Southwestern
Hospitaalpark	8.0	226	2,578	26	4	Southwestern
Fleurdal	7.3	105	1,334	2	0	Southwestern
Uitsig	6.7	264	3,652	21	0	Southwestern
Ehrlichpark	6.7	73	1,013	7	0	Southern
Westdene	6.6	279	3,893	18	12	Central
Brandwag	5.8	213	3,431	7	0	Western
Arboretum	4.4	28	601	5	0	Central
Fauna	3.9	155	3,784	17	3	Southwestern
Heidedal	3.6	793	40	20,883	17	Southeastern
Parkwes	3.5	176	4,857	65	1	Western
Pellissier	2.5	137	5,225	9	14	Southwestern
Willows	2.5	106	4,070	29	0	Central
Stad	2.2	141	6,152	16	80	Central
Lourierpark	2.0	8	387	1	0	Southwestern
Citywide Average	**13.7**	**4,294**	**3,185**	**694**	**21**	

Source: Statistics South Africa, 1991.

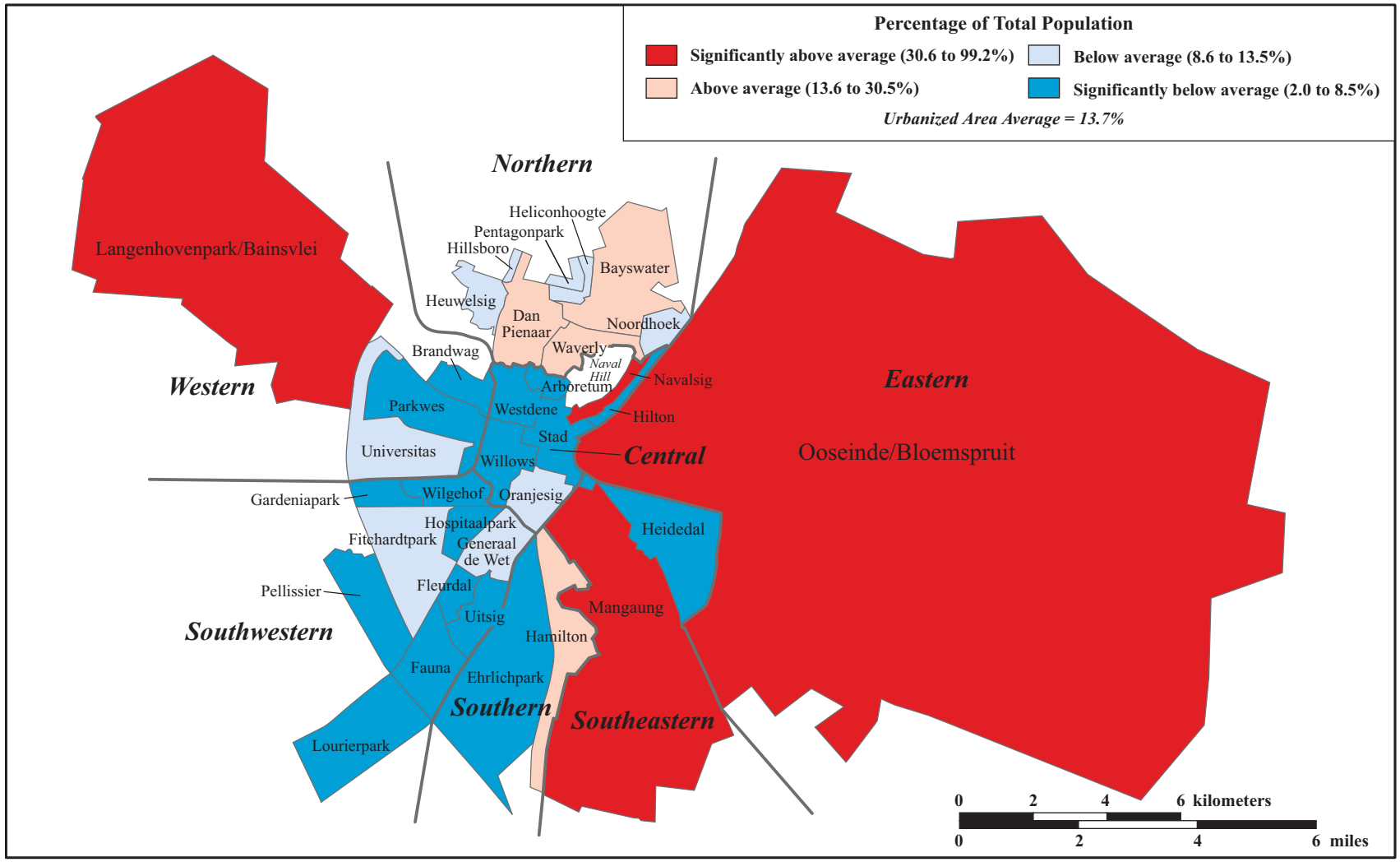

Figure 4-11: Bloemfontein Percentage Population Black Per Neighborhood, 1991

percent of population that was white varied, even as of 1991, whites constituted a majority of the population in all of Bloemfontein's neighborhoods except the former township areas of Mangaung and Heidedal and the mostly industrial and rural neighborhood of Ooseinde/Bloemspruit.

Income Distribution

The Bloemfontein economy has created a large middle and upper-middle income population but a smaller wealthy community than might be found in other South African urban areas. As of 1991, Bloemfontein had a mean per capita income of R10,921. However, income was not spread evenly among the population. Of the three main racial groups (white, coloured, and black), Bloemfontein's white population was the wealthiest with a mean per capita income of R22,613. The coloured community followed with a mean per capita income of R11,711, and Bloemfontein’s black population had the lowest economic status with a mean per capita income of R3,200 (South African Census 1991).

On a neighborhood basis, per capita income ranged from a high of R66,946 in Waverly to a low of R3,263 in Mangaung (Table 4-4 and Figure 4-12). Generally, per capita income was highest in historically white neighborhoods in the

Table 4-4: Bloemfontein Mean Per Capita Income Per Neighborhood, 1991

Neighborhood	Mean Per Capita Income (South African Rand)	Subregion
Waverly	66,946	Northern
Heliconhoogte	44,129	Northern
Heuwilsig	43,997	Northern
Hillsboro	39,979	Northern
Dan Pienaar	32,485	Northern
Universitas	26,277	Western
Pellissier	24,348	Southwestern
Bayswater	24,046	Northern
Pentagonpark	23,915	Northern
Generaal de Wet	22,585	Southwestern
Arboretum	21,717	Central
Fichardtpark	21,396	Southwestern
Westdene	21,291	Central
Stad	18,318	Central
Brandwag	17,225	Western
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	16,243	Western
Hospitaalpark	15,953	Southwestern
Gardeniapark	15,845	Southwestern
Noordhoek	15,785	Northern
Lourierpark	15,554	Southwestern
Fauna	15,352	Southwestern
Fleurdal	15,126	Southwestern
Willows	14,058	Central
Hilton	13,523	Central
Uitsig	13,103	Southwestern
Hamilton	12,756	Southern
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	12,010	Eastern
Wilgehof	11,803	Southwestern
Ehrlichpark	11,411	Southern
Navalsig	7,315	Central
Oranjesig	6,369	Central
Parkwes	5,574	Western
Heidedal	5,023	Southeastern
Mangaung	3,263	Southeastern
Citywide Average	**10,921**	

Source: Statistics South Africa, 1991.

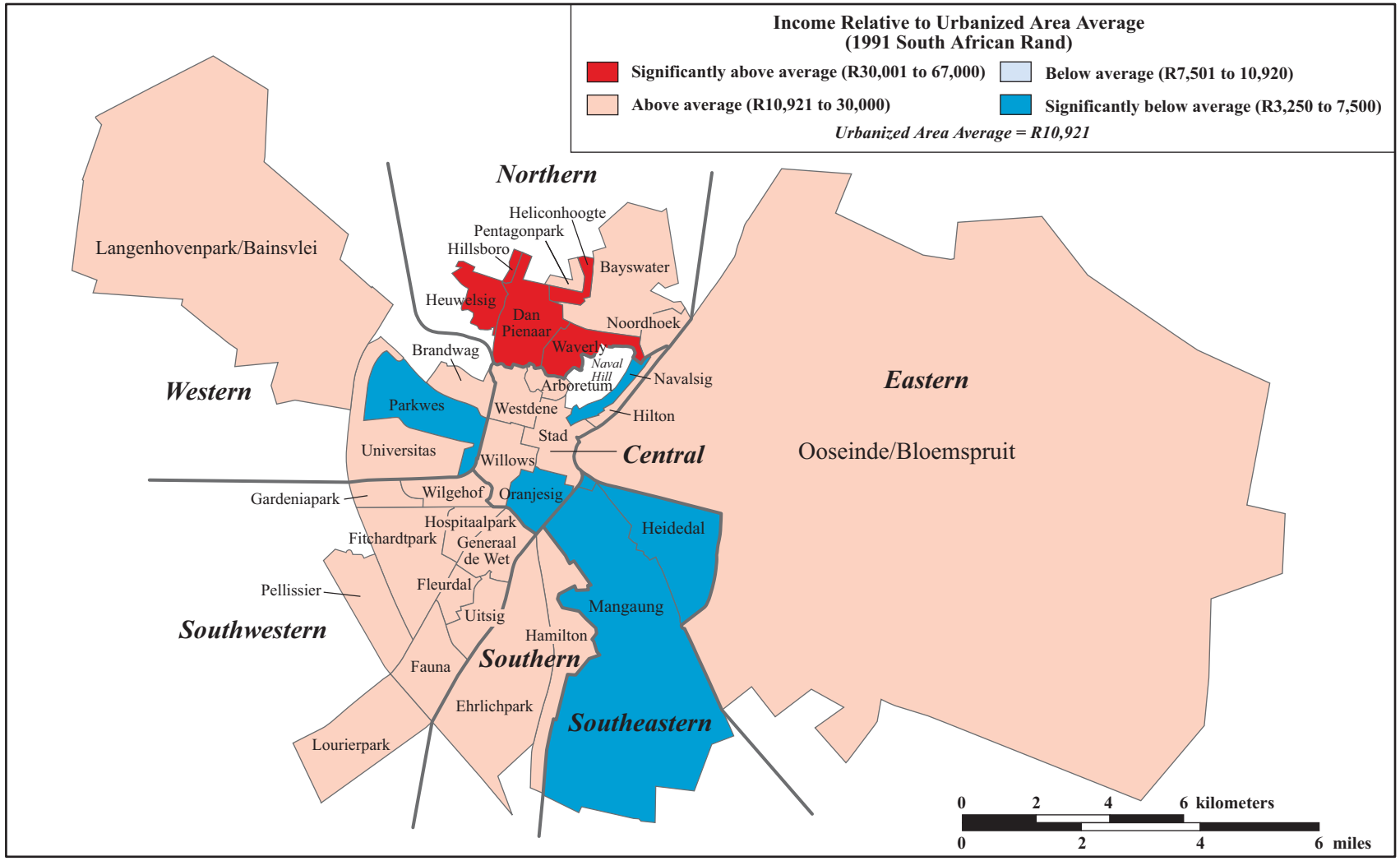

Figure 4-12: Bloemfontein Mean Per Capita Income Per Neighborhood, 1991

Northern Subregion (such as Waverly, Heliconhoogte, and Heuwelsig), while income was lowest in areas containing apartheid-era townships (Mangaung and Heidedal), neighborhoods with large numbers of university students (such as Parkwes), or historically white neighborhoods containing a mixture of industry and housing (such as Oranjesig and Navalsig). Within the city's remaining areas (primarily the Western and Southwestern subregions), populations with middle to upper-middle income status were most common. Naval Hill (a mesa-like feature), the Spoornet mainline, and industrial areas within Ooseinde/Bloemspruit create barriers to interaction between the wealthy Northern Subregion and the lower income Central and Eastern subregions. Conversely, no barriers exist to impede interaction among the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions.

Educational Accomplishment

Bloemfontein's status as a university town helped it to foster a well-educated citizenry. Major tertiary-level educational institutions in the city include the University of the Free State (Universiteit van die Vrystaat) and the Vrystaat Teknikon. The University of the Free State is

central South Africa's largest and most diverse academic university. Including schools of agriculture, engineering, law, and medicine, the university is widely recognized as one of South Africa's premier academic institutions. Similarly, the Vrystaat Teknikon, a technical and community college, is widely recognized for the quality of its programs and is the largest such institution in the Free State Province. In addition to universities, Bloemfontein is also the home to highly regarded boarding schools such as Grey Kollege, Oranje Meisie Skool, Eunice School for Girls, and Saint Andrews School for Boys that attract elementary and high school students from across central South Africa.

By 1991, the population of Bloemfontein had on average completed 7.3 years of education (South African Census 1991). As with income, notable differences in educational attainment existed among Bloemfontein's three main racial groups. The white community was the best educated, having completed 9.5 years of schooling on average. The coloured population followed, having completed on average 7.4 years of education, while the black community was the least educated having completed on average only 5.9 years of schooling. On a neighborhood basis, average educational

attainment varied from a high of 11.1 years of schooling in Parkwes to a low of 5.6 years in Ooseinde/Bloemspruit (Table 4-5 and Figure 4-13). Generally, neighborhoods with the highest levels of educational attainment were areas with large numbers of university or college students (such as Parkwes, Willows, and Westdene) or historically white neighborhoods with wealthy to upper-middle income populations (such as Hillsboro, Universitas, and Dan Pienaar). Conversely, neighborhoods with the lowest levels of educational attainment were areas that included apartheid-era townships (Mangaung and Heidedal), and neighborhoods containing, or in proximity to, industrial or agricultural land use (Oranjesig, Ooseinde/Bloemspruit, and Langenhvenpark/Bainsvlei).

Exemplar of a Typical South African City

The patterns that have been described in the prior sections indicate that Bloemfontein in the mid-1990s was highly segregated by race, income, education, and land use. Together, these patterns indicate that Bloemfontein was an exemplar of what Davies (1981) described as the model apartheid city (Figures 1-4 and 4-14). Developed to minimize interaction among the country's racial groups, the€

Table 4-5: Bloemfontein Per Capita Median Education Per Neighborhood, 1991

Neighborhood	Per Capita Education	Subregion
Parkwes	11.1	Western
Stad	10.5	Central
Willows	10.4	Central
Westdene	10.4	Central
Arboretum	9.7	Central
Hillsboro	9.5	Northern
Universitas	9.4	Western
Dan Pienaar	9.4	Northern
Heuwilsig	9.4	Northern
Brandwag	9.4	Western
Waverly	9.2	Northern
Heliconhoogte	9.1	Northern
Navalsig	8.9	Central
Fichardtpark	8.8	Southwestern
Pentagonpark	8.8	Northern
Hospitaalpark	8.8	Southwestern
Fleurdal	8.7	Southwestern
Pellissier	8.7	Southwestern
Bayswater	8.7	Northern
Hilton	8.6	Central
Hamilton	8.6	Southern
Generaal de Wet	8.6	Southwestern
Wilgehof	8.5	Southwestern
Gardeniapark	8.5	Southwestern
Uitsig	8.2	Southwestern
Noordhoek	8.1	Northern
Lourierpark	8.0	Southwestern
Fauna	7.8	Southwestern
Ehrlichpark	7.6	Southern
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	6.8	Western
Oranjesig	6.3	Central
Heidedal	6.2	Southeastern
Mangaung	6.0	Southeastern
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	5.6	Eastern
Citywide Average	**7.3**	

Source: Statistics South Africa, 1991.

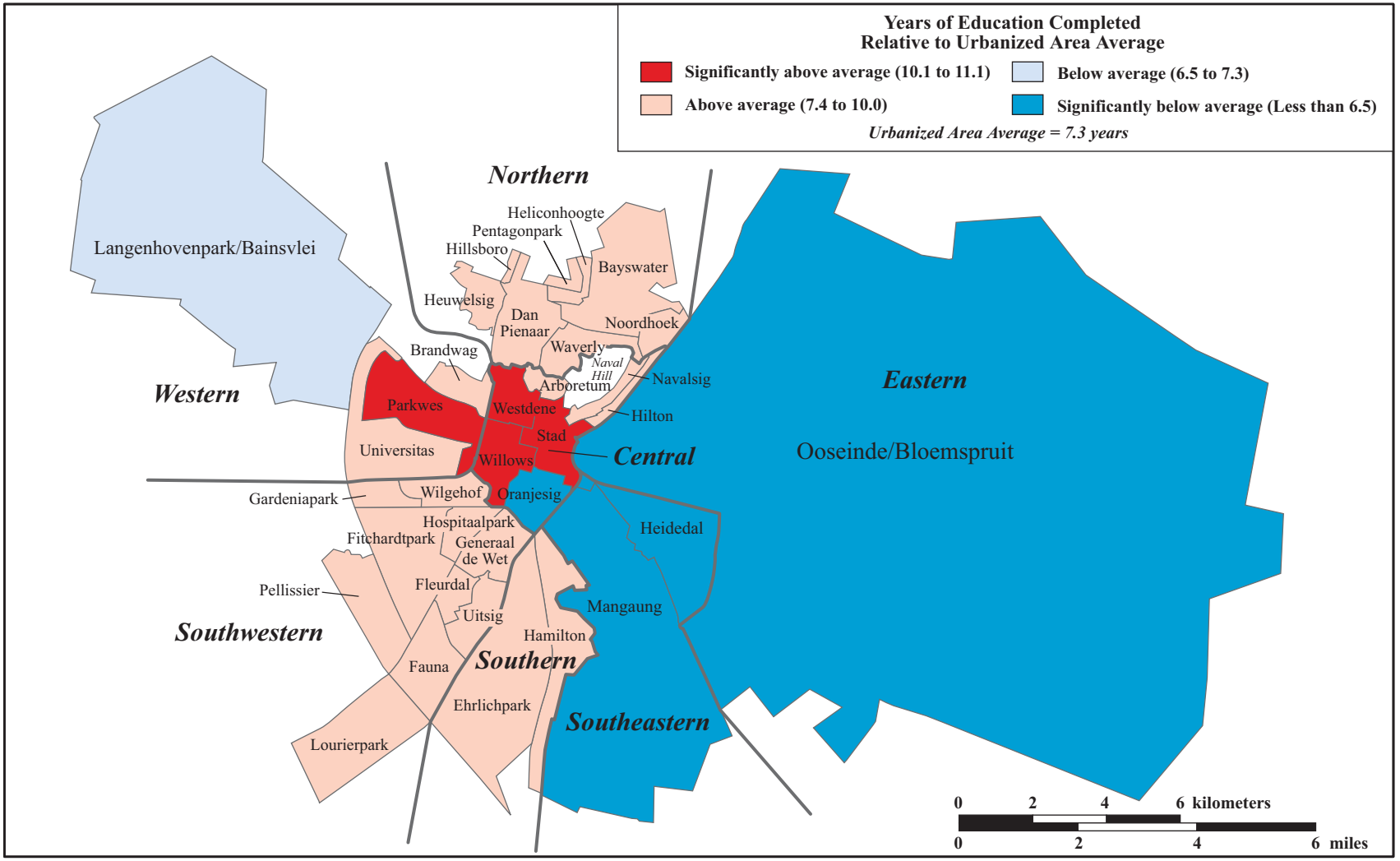

Figure 4-13: Bloemfontein Per Capita Median Education Per Neighborhood, 1991

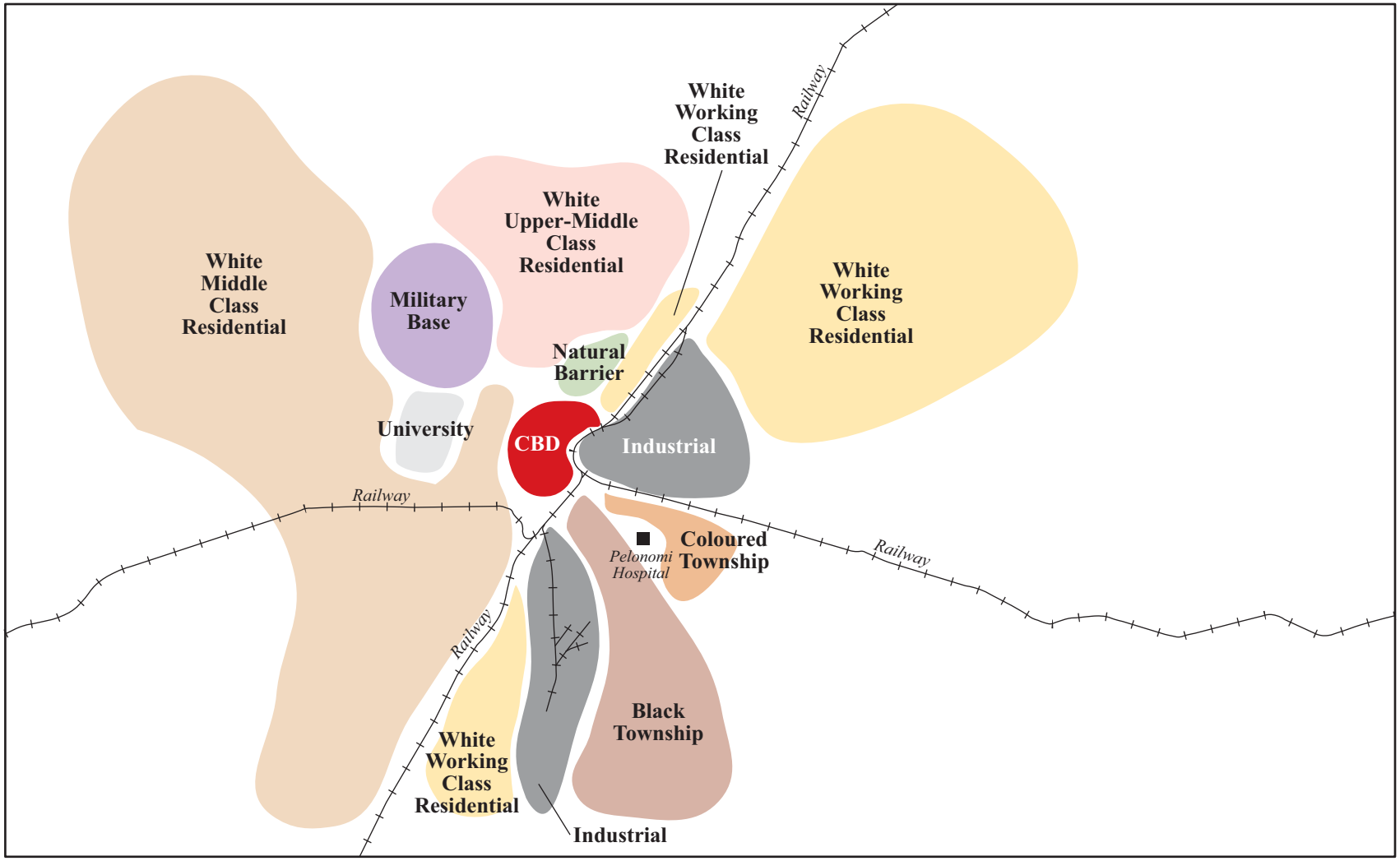

Figure 4-14: Generalized Pattern of Land Use in Bloemfontein, 1998

model apartheid city was used by the apartheid regime to marginalize the economic and political influence of the black majority and maintain white-minority control of the country. Specifically, the goal was to incorporate the black population into the urban landscape only to the degree that was necessary to support the economy. The government accomplished this goal by separating black residential areas from commercial and residential zones in the "white city" by rail lines, physiographic barriers, industrial neighborhoods, and housing for South Africa's other racial communities. Hence, when contact between the black and white communities occurred, it was in spaces such as the industrial neighborhoods where few whites lived, but in which both blacks and whites could work. This spatial arrangement created a bizarre situation in which whites, though a minority of the population, were able to live most of their lives in spaces that were majority or exclusively white. This arrangement also enabled the apartheid-era regime to crack down on protests within the black community while having only a minimal impact on the "white city."

The patterns that have been described for Bloemfontein can be viewed as exemplars of what was "typical" in most South African cities during the late apartheid period,

with Bloemfontein closely mirroring Davies' model apartheid city (Figure 4-14). In its demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, Bloemfontein tended to be towards the average, rather than the extreme, when compared to other South African cities.

One example of how Bloemfontein fell between the extremes was the rate by which its population was growing during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods. Between 1980 and 2001, the city grew by 84 percent from 198,343 to 365,019 (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 31; South African Census 2001). While a notable increase, the growth was average when compared to other South African metropolitan areas. For instance, the Johannesburg/Pretoria conurbation during the same period doubled in size from 4.3 million in 1980 to 8.9 million in 2001, while Kimberley grew only 48 percent from 135,781 in 1980 to 201,462 in 2001.

Another example of how Bloemfontein fit the average was in the city's racial composition in the early post-apartheid period. As with most South African metropolitan areas, Bloemfontein had a racially diverse population. In 2001, the city had a white, coloured, and Asian population of approximately 110,000, or 30.1 percent of the city total

(South African Census 2001). For comparison, the same racial groups constituted 24.9 percent of the population of Johannesburg/Pretoria and 45.5 percent of Kimberley's population.

A third example of how Bloemfontain was a typical city would be in the shift in racial composition of Bloemfontein's population during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods. Between 1980 and 2001, the city's white, coloured, and Asian communities dropped 20.9 percentage points, from 51.2 percent to 30.1 percent of the population (Dept of Foreign Affairs 1985: 31; South African Census 2001). For comparison, white, coloured, and Asian populations within Johannesburg/Pretoria during the same period experienced a drop of 17 percentage points from 41.9 percent to 24.9 percent of the population, while in Durban a decline of 56 percentage points from 87.7 percent to 31.7 percent of the population occurred.

It is because of Bloemfontein's typicality that it was chosen as a study area for this dissertation. In doing so, the premise was that the patterns of change identified in forthcoming chapters do not merely indicate what happened in Bloemfontein during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, but also what was happening in most

South African cities.

Section 3

Research Results

Chapter 5: Analysis of the Residential and Business Landscapes of Wilmington, North Carolina, During the Late Segregation and Early Post-Segregation Periods

The late segregation (1955-1964) and early post-segregation (1965-1970) periods were a time of upheaval and change across the American South. During these periods, the civil rights movement achieved great successes such as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and the 24th Amendment to the US Constitution outlawing poll taxes, all of which helped rewrite racial policy and cultural norms not only in the South but across the United States.

While cultural changes were underway during the 1950s and 1960s, were the landscapes of cities within the American South also changing? While it is probably safe to assume that the answer to this question is yes, that answer then begs a further question: what factors precipitated the changes that occurred? Were the changes related to racial factors, such as a reaction to school desegregation or increased enfranchisement within the black community?

This chapter will explore these questions by tracking intra-urban landscape changes during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods in the city of Wilmington, North Carolina, a community that serves as an exemplar of a typical American southern city. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, three indices (real estate activity, real estate values, and business locations) which provide insight into Wilmington's urban landscape are tracked during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, with a focus on determining what, if any, changes in urban geographic patterns occurred between the two periods. In the second section, these urban geographic patterns are correlated statistically with socioeconomic variables (racial and non-racial) to identify what factors may have precipitated the changes.

Research Data and Methodology

Data to identify patterns of real estate activity and real estate values in Wilmington during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods were collected from real property deeds archived at the New

Hanover County Register of Deeds.[1,2] Five-thousand-eight-hundred-four deeds executed between 1955 and 1970 and involving real property in Wilmington were selected using a stratified sampling strategy.[3] These deeds were then reviewed to identify the: (1) geographic location (neighborhood) of the real property being transferred, (2) geographic extent (area) of the real property being transferred, and (3) value of the financial transaction (for example, the sales price) associated with the transfer.

To obtain the dataset used to identify the patterns of real estate activity, the number of transfers were tabulated per neighborhood for each year of the study (1955 to 1970) and normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area. For example, if a neighborhood with an area of 500 hectares had 10 transfers in a particular year, the normalized transfers would equal 20 transfers per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area for that year. For each

1 Real property is defined as land and generally whatever is erected on, growing on, or affixed to the land.

2 For the purpose of this study, real estate activity is defined as any instance in which an ownership of real property is transferred from one entity (such as a person, group of persons, or corporation) to another. Sales are the most common type of real estate activity, though not the only type. For instance, foreclosures, gifts, and condemnations also meet the definition.

3 A stratified sample is one in which data are collected to fulfill some predefined goal in creating the sample. In the case of the Wilmington real property sample, stratified sampling was used to collect information on approximately 500 randomly selected property transfers per year between 1955 and 1970.

neighborhood, the number of normalized transfers were then grouped by period (1955 to 1964 and 1965 to 1970) and averaged for each period to arrive at the number of transfers per neighborhood per period.

A similar methodology was employed to create the dataset for real estate values. The financial value of each transfer was divided by the geographic extent of that property to obtain the value per square meter. For example, if a 5,000 square meter property sold for $50,000, the value would be $10 per square meter. All of the values were then averaged per neighborhood for each year of the study (1955 to 1970). The yearly averages were then grouped by period and averaged to arrive at the value of each neighborhood per period.

To identify patterns of business location in Wilmington during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, data were collected from Wilmington municipal directories published by the Hill Directory Company of Richmond, Virginia between 1955 and 1970.[4] Two-thousand-six-hundred-and-thirty-one business locations were selected

4 For the purpose of this study, the term business refers to any form of commercial activity including retail, personal, professional, corporate, and transportation services and industrial activity.

using a systematic sampling method.[5] The numbers of businesses were then normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area. For example, if a neighborhood with an area of 2,000 hectares had 50 businesses in a particular year, the number of businesses per 1,000 hectares would equal 25 for that year. The numbers of businesses were then grouped by period and averaged to determine the count per neighborhood per period.

Patterns of Real Estate Activity

During the late segregation period, real estate activity peaked in a cluster of neighborhoods within Wilmington's Central Subregion, the location of the city's CBD. Real estate activity in excess of 200 percent of the citywide average occurred in Historic District, Carolina Heights, and Courthouse (Table 5-1 and Figure 5-1). Surrounding this peak was a cluster of neighborhoods with lower, yet still moderately above average, real estate activity, including the Central Subregion neighborhoods of Dawson/Wooster and Waterfront, as well as Forest Hills in

5 A systematic sample is one in which data are selected with numerical or spatial regularity in the sampling technique. In the case of the Wilmington business sample, systematic sampling was used to collect information on every fifth business location listed in the municipal directories.

Table 5-1: Wilmington Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Activity[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Historic District	129.7	341.8	Significantly Above Average
Carolina Heights	84.9	223.8	
Courthouse	78.7	207.5	
Dawson/Wooster	72.3	190.7	Moderately Above Average
Forest Hills	61.7	162.6	
Waterfront	58.3	153.6	
Sunset Heights	57.7	152.2	
Lakeview	47.5	125.2	Slightly Above Average
Audubon	41.7	110.0	Average
Northside	32.6	86.0	
Chestnut Heights	28.1	74.1	Below Average
Shipyard	24.0	63.3	
Winter Park	21.7	57.2	
Country Club Estates	20.8	54.8	
Greenfield Lake	9.9	26.0	Significantly Below Average
Masonboro	8.4	22.2	
Federal Point	8.3	21.9	
Porter's Neck	4.2	11.0	
Wrightsville Beach	3.4	8.9	
Castle Hayne	1.9	5.1	
Holly Shelter Swamp	0.8	2.0	
Citywide Mean	**38.0**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate activity = Average real estate activity normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate activity within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate activity for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1955 through 1964.

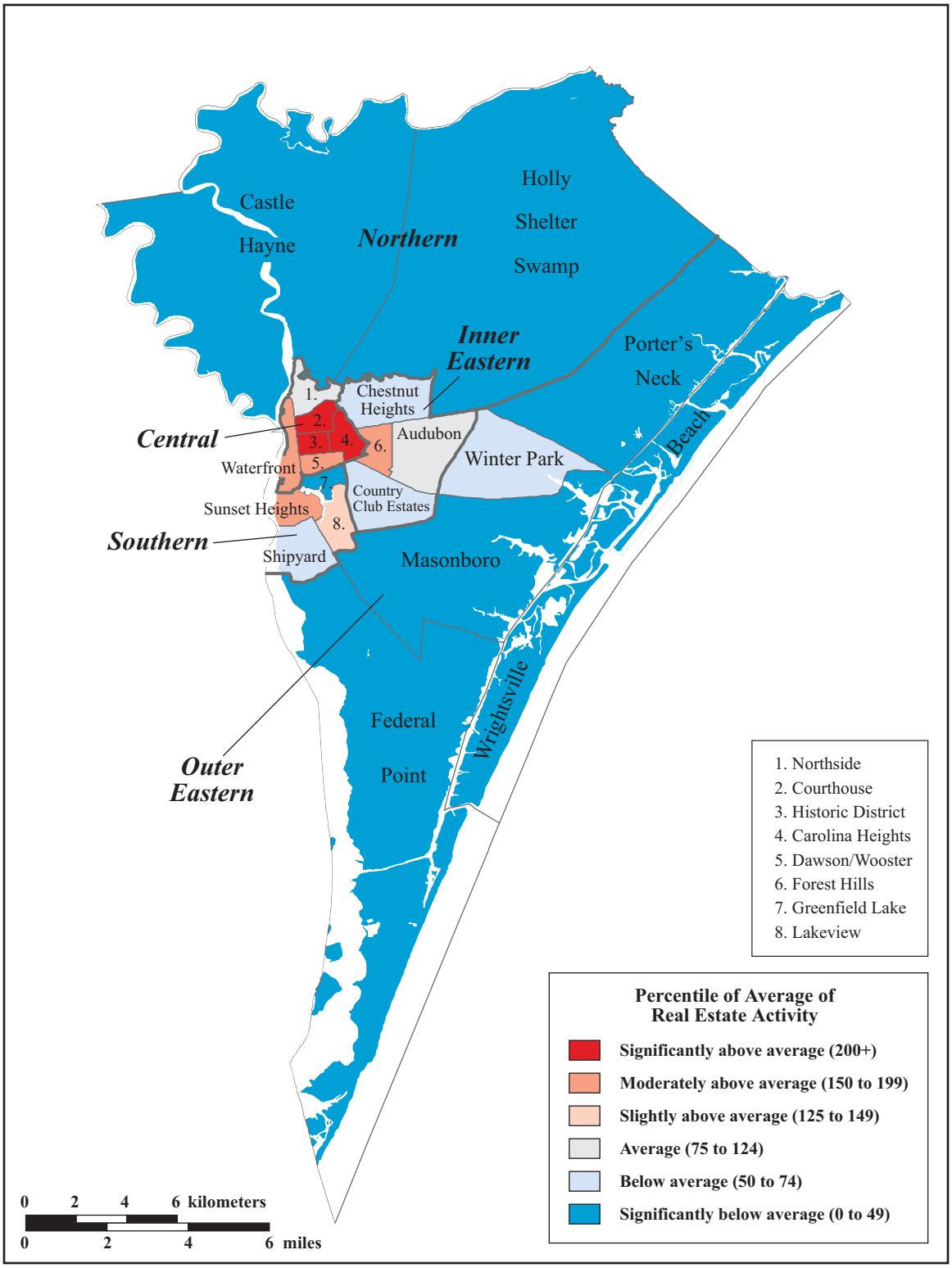

Figure 5-1: Wilmington Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

the Inner Eastern Subregion and Sunset Heights in the Southern Subregion. Beyond this cluster, real estate activity declined but not in a geographically uniform manner. Instead, a gradual drop off in real estate activity occurred when proceeding east and south from the Central Subregion, while a more dramatic decline in activity occurred when proceeding to the north. The least real estate activity was noted in the historically rural neighborhoods of Castle Hayne and Holly Shelter Swamp in the Northern Subregion and Federal Point, Wrightsville Beach, and Porter's Neck in the Outer Eastern Subregion.

During the early post-segregation period, patterns of real estate activity were similar, but not identical, to those that occurred during the late segregation period. Real estate activity continued to peak within Wilmington's Central Subregion, with activity in Carolina Heights, Courthouse, and Waterfront in excess of 200 percent of the citywide mean (Table 5-2 and Figure 5-2). Likewise, the neighborhoods of Castle Hayne and Holly Shelter Swamp in the Northern Subregion and the neighborhoods of Wrightsville Beach, Federal Point, and Porter's Neck in the Outer Eastern Subregion continued to experience the least real estate activity. However, neighborhoods with

Table 5-2: Wilmington Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Activity[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Carolina Heights	51.3	301.1	Significantly Above Average
Courthouse	38.3	225.2	
Waterfront	34.2	200.7	
Historic District	31.5	184.8	Moderately Above Average
Sunset Heights	27.4	160.9	
Audubon	22.8	133.9	Slightly Above Average
Dawson/Wooster	21.9	128.9	
Forest Hills	21.1	123.8	Average
Shipyard	14.5	85.4	
Winter Park	13.9	81.8	
Masonboro	13.9	81.4	
Country Club Estates	12.6	74.3	Below Average
Lakeview	12.6	74.0	
Chestnut Heights	9.7	56.9	
Northside	8.4	49.3	Significantly Below Average
Greenfield Lake	6.4	37.3	
Porter's Neck	5.4	31.8	
Federal Point	4.3	25.4	
Wrightsville Beach	3.8	22.2	
Holly Shelter Swamp	2.0	11.7	
Castle Hayne	1.6	9.5	
Citywide Mean	**17.0**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate activity = Average real estate activity normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate activity within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate activity for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1965 through 1970.

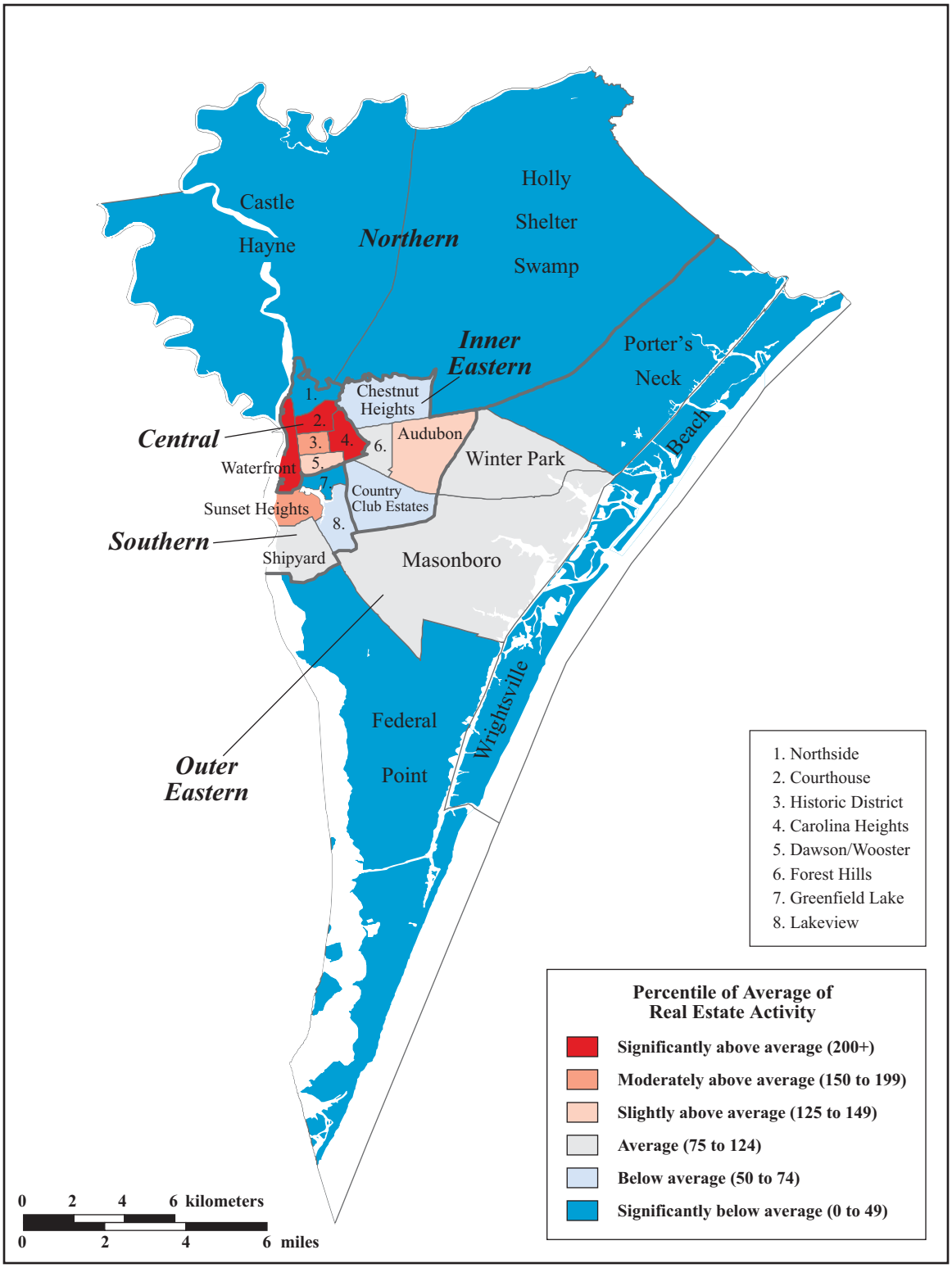

Figure 5-2: Wilmington Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

intermediate levels of real estate activity extended further away from the peak activity cluster in the Central Subregion than in the late segregation period. For example, only two neighborhoods, Audubon and Lakeview, that were not adjacent to or within the Central Subregion had average or above average real estate activity during the late segregation period. However, the number of similarly situated neighborhoods with average to above average real estate activity had grown to four (Audubon, Masonboro, Shipyard, and Winter Park) by the early post-segregation period.

The trend between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods towards an increasingly diffuse pattern of real estate activity becomes even more evident when the arithmetic difference between the rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide means during each of the two periods is calculated (Table 5-3 and Figure 5-3).[6] For instance, 53 percent (eight of 15) of neighborhoods located outside the Central Subregion experienced moderate to major

6 The arithmetic change in real estate activity within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean in the late segregation period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean during the early post-segregation period. For example, Waterfront ranked 153.6% above the citywide mean in the late segregation period and 200.7% above the citywide mean in the early post-segregation period for a positive change of 47.1 in percentile rank (a major increase).

Table 5-3: Wilmington Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Real Estate Activity[1]	Subregion	Category
Carolina Heights	77.3	Central	Major Increase
Masonboro	59.2	Outer Eastern	
Waterfront	47.1	Central	
Winter Park	24.6	Outer Eastern	Moderate Increase
Audubon	23.9	Inner Eastern	
Shipyard	22.1	Southern	
Porter's Neck	20.8	Outer Eastern	
Country Club Estates	19.5	Inner Eastern	
Courthouse	17.7	Central	
Wrightsville Beach	13.3	Outer Eastern	
Greenfield Lake	11.3	Southern	
Holly Shelter Swamp	9.7	Northern	Minor Increase
Sunset Heights	8.7	Southern	
Castle Hayne	4.4	Northern	Stable
Federal Point	3.5	Outer Eastern	
Chestnut Heights	-17.2	Inner Eastern	Moderate Decline
Northside	-36.7	Central	
Forest Hills	-38.8	Inner Eastern	
Lakeview	-51.2	Southern	Major Decline
Dawson/Wooster	-61.8	Central	
Historic District	-157.0	Central	

Note: 1. Change in real estate activity = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late segregation and early post-segregation periods which represents the change in average real estate activity within a neighborhood between the periods.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1955 through 1970.

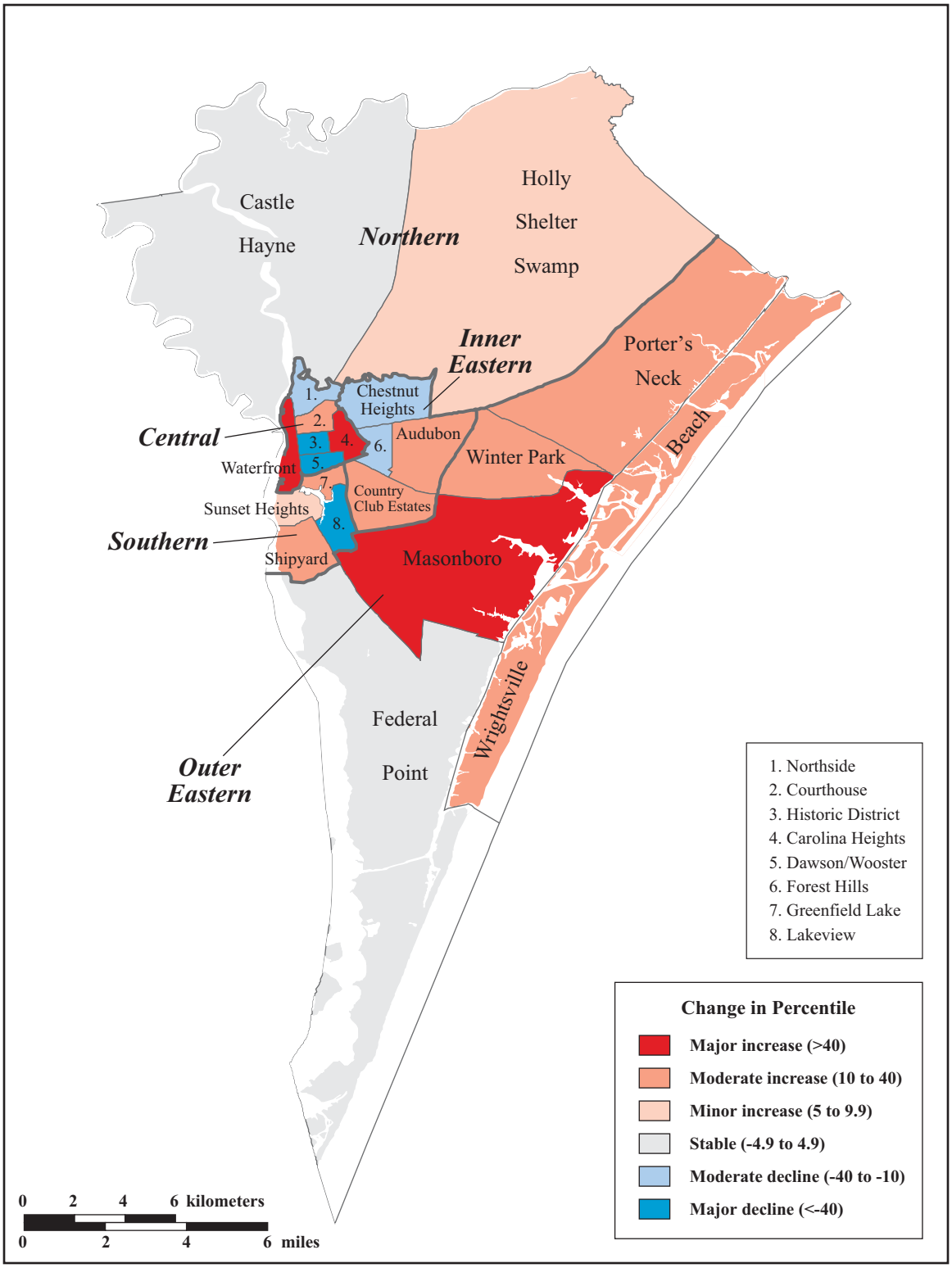

Figure 5-3: Wilmington Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

increases in real estate activity between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, while only 20 percent (three of 15) of similarly located neighborhoods experienced moderate to major declines in activity. Conversely, the six Central Subregion neighborhoods were evenly split between experiencing moderate to major increases and moderate to major declines in real estate activity between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods. Neighborhoods outside the Central Subregion experienced a mean increase of eight percentage points between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods in percentile rank of real estate activity relative to the citywide average, while neighborhoods within the Central Subregion experienced a mean decrease of 19 percentage points.

Among the 15 neighborhoods outside of the Central Subregion, real estate activity increased most quickly in areas that were not in proximity to that subregion, indicating that new peaks in real estate activity were beginning to form away from the Central Subregion. For instance, none of the five suburban neighborhoods that experienced the largest increases in real estate activity (Masonboro, Winter Park, Audubon, Shipyard, and Porter's

Neck) were adjacent to the Central Subregion, while two of three suburban neighborhoods that experienced moderate or major declines in real estate activity were adjacent to the Central Subregion (Forest Hills and Chestnut Heights were adjacent while Lakeview was not).

Patterns of Real Estate Values

During the late segregation period, real estate values peaked in the neighborhood of Wrightsville Beach in the Outer Eastern Subregion due to the prevalence of vacation homes and in the neighborhoods of Waterfront, Historic District, and Courthouse within the Central Subregion, the location of the CBD (Table 5-4 and Figure 5-4). Real estate values in excess of 200 percent of the citywide median occurred in all four of these neighborhoods. Adjacent to the peak in the Central Subregion were neighborhoods with lower, yet still moderately above average, real estate values including the neighborhoods of Sunset Heights in the Southern Subregion and Carolina Heights in the Central Subregion. Beyond this cluster, real estate values declined but not in a geographically uniform manner. Instead, a gradual drop off in real estate values occurred when proceeding east from the Central

Table 5-4: Wilmington Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Values[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Wrightsville Beach	$18.98	299.5	
Waterfront	14.56	229.8	Significantly
Historic District	14.01	221.1	Above Average
Courthouse	13.04	205.8	
Sunset Heights	10.74	169.5	Moderately Above
Carolina Heights	9.79	154.5	Average
Forest Hills	9.10	143.6	Slightly Above
Dawson/Wooster	8.28	130.6	Average
Northside	6.68	105.5	Average
Chestnut Heights	5.53	87.2	
Audubon	3.56	56.3	Below Average
Country Club Estates	2.97	46.9	
Shipyard	2.91	45.9	
Federal Point	2.81	44.3	
Greenfield Lake	2.46	38.9	
Lakeview	1.99	31.5	Significantly
Winter Park	1.79	28.3	Below Average
Masonboro	1.55	24.5	
Porter's Neck	0.94	14.9	
Castle Hayne	0.92	14.5	
Holly Shelter Swamp	0.44	6.9	
Citywide Median	**6.34**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate values = Average real estate values (1970 USD) per meter square of property.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate values within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate values for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide median.

Source: Real estate values collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1955 through 1964.

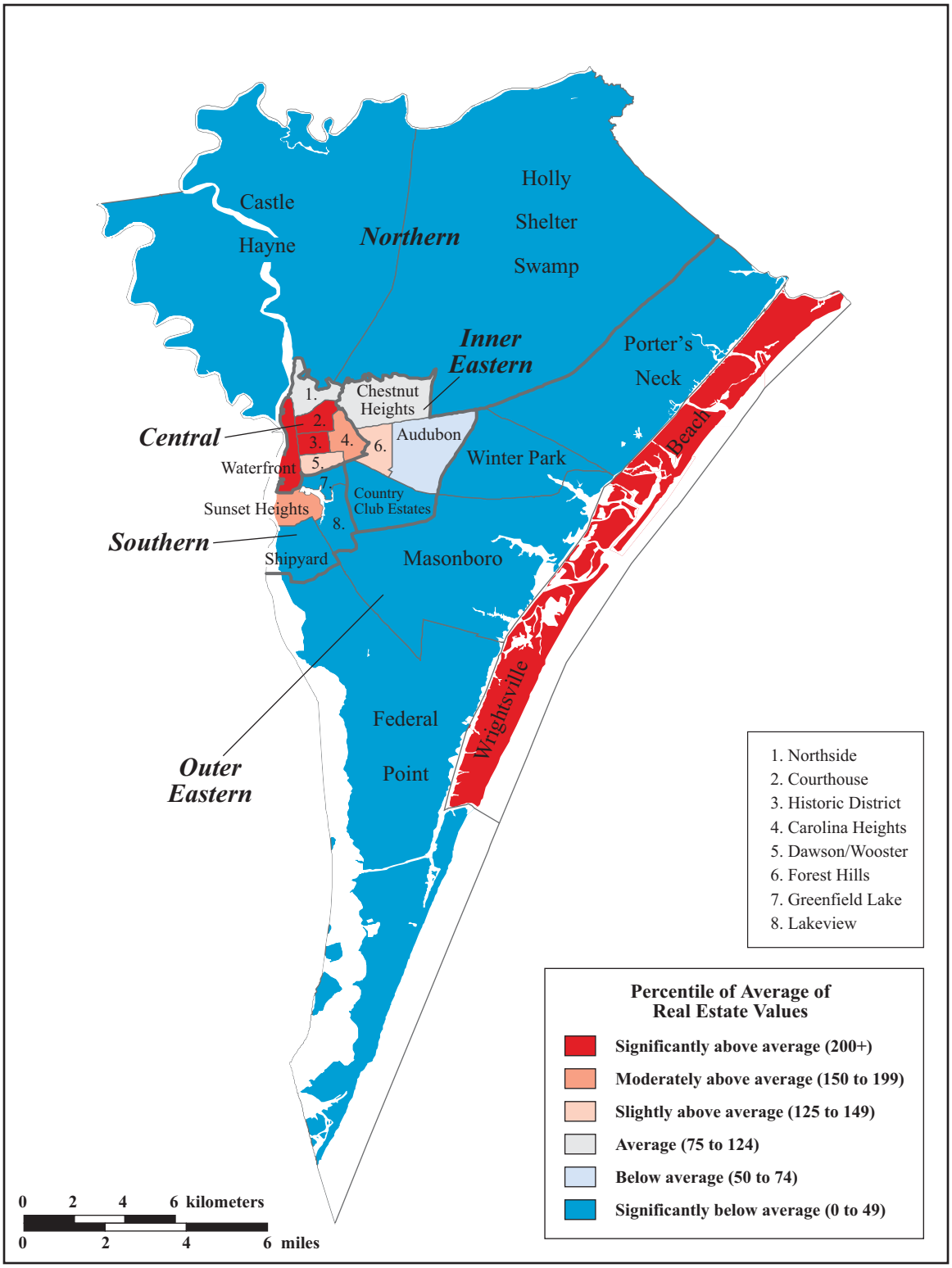

Figure 5-4: Wilmington Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

Subregion along the transportation arteries running west-to-east until the high-value outlier of Wrightsville Beach was reached, while a dramatic decline in values occurred when proceeding to the north or south. As with real estate activity, the neighborhoods with the lowest median real estate values were Holly Shelter Swamp and Castle Hayne in the Northern Subregion, and Porter's Neck, Masonboro, and Winter Park in the Outer Eastern Subregion.

Patterns of real estate values in the early post-segregation period indicate both a degree of continuity and a divergence from real estate value patterns observed during the late segregation period. Real estate values continued to peak within Wrightsville Beach in the Outer Eastern Subregion and in a cluster of neighborhoods (namely, Courthouse and Waterfront) within the Central Subregion (Table 5-5 and Figure 5-5). During the early post-segregation period, real estate values in each of the peak neighborhoods continued to be in excess of 200 percent of the citywide median. Likewise, the neighborhoods of Castle Hayne and Holly Shelter Swamp in the Northern Subregion and the neighborhoods of Winter Park, Porter's Neck, and Masonboro in the Outer Eastern Subregion continued to experience the lowest median real estate

Table 5-5: Wilmington Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Values[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Wrightsville Beach	$18.22	262.4	Significantly Above Average
Courthouse	14.81	213.3	
Waterfront	14.04	202.2	
Forest Hills	12.76	183.8	Moderately Above Average
Sunset Heights	11.19	161.2	
Carolina Heights	10.86	156.4	
Historic District	9.99	143.9	Slightly Above Average
Northside	8.40	121.0	Average
Shipyard	7.60	109.5	
Dawson/Wooster	6.52	93.9	
Country Club Estates	4.25	61.2	Below Average
Lakeview	4.02	58.0	
Chestnut Heights	3.90	56.1	
Audubon	3.76	54.1	
Federal Point	3.59	51.8	
Greenfield Lake	2.78	40.0	Significantly Below Average
Masonboro	2.25	32.3	
Porter's Neck	2.19	31.6	
Winter Park	2.08	30.0	
Holly Shelter Swamp	1.66	23.9	
Castle Hayne	0.95	13.6	
Citywide Median	**6.94**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate values = Average real estate values (1970 USD) per meter square of property.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate values within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate values for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide median.

Source: Real estate values collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1965 through 1970.

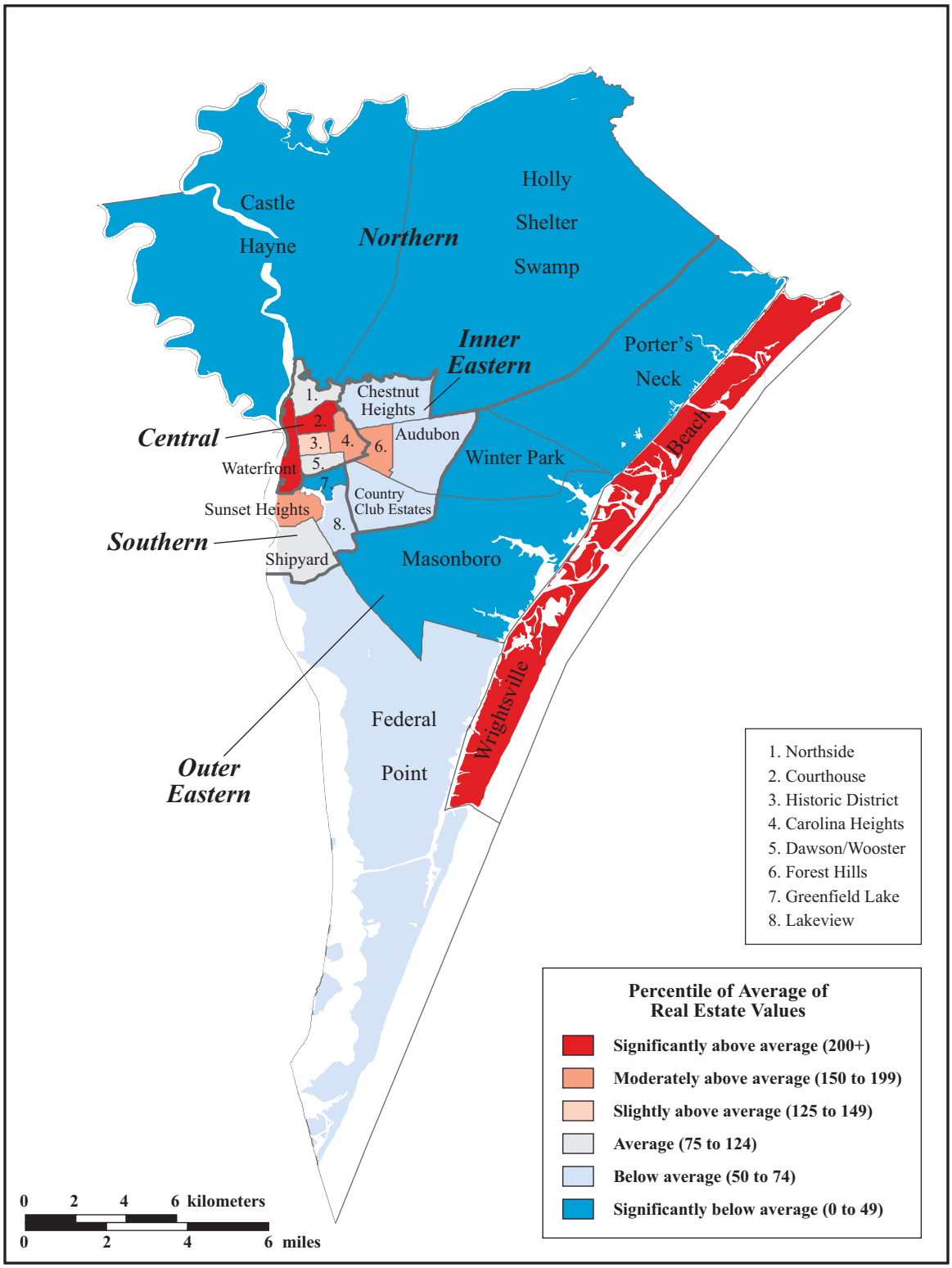

Figure 5-5: Wilmington Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

values. However, neighborhoods with intermediate levels of real estate values extended further away from the peak value cluster in the Central Subregion than in the late segregation period. In particular, notable increases in real estate values occurred in neighborhoods situated in the Inner Eastern and Southern subregions, as development was occurring along the transportation corridors through those areas. For instance, 50 percent (four of eight) of neighborhoods within the two subregions (Forest Hills, Country Club Estates, Shipyard, and Lakeview) increased by at least one category (for example, moving from the "slightly above average" to the "moderately above average" category) relative to the citywide median for real estate values between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, while only one similarly situated neighborhood (Chestnut Heights) fell one category to "below average." By way of comparison, none of the Central Subregion neighborhoods moved up a category, with four of six (67 percent) ranked in the same category as in the late segregation period, and the remaining two neighborhoods dropped a category. Likewise, within the Outer Eastern and Northern subregions only one neighborhood out of seven moved up a category to become "below average" rather than

"significantly below average" in terms of real estate values.

The trend between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods towards increasing real estate values in neighborhoods outside the Central Subregion becomes even more evident when the arithmetic difference between the rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide median values during each of the two periods is calculated.[7] For instance, both neighborhoods (Shipyard and Forest Hills) that experienced major increases in relative levels of real estate values between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods were within the Southern and Inner Eastern subregions (Table 5-6 and Figure 5-6). Additionally, 53 percent (eight of 15) of neighborhoods not located in the Central Subregion experienced at least a minor increase in real estate values between the periods, while only 20 percent (three of 15) of such neighborhoods experienced minor, moderate, or major declines in values. For comparison, only 33 percent of neighborhoods within the

7 The arithmetic change in real estate value within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide median in the late segregation period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide median during the early post-segregation period. For example, Waterfront ranked 229.8% above the citywide median in the late segregation period and 202.2% above the citywide median in the early post-segregation period for a negative change of 27.6 in percentile rank (a moderate decline).

Table 5-6: Wilmington Change in Real Estate Values, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Real Estate Values[1]	Subregion	Category
Shipyard	63.6	Southern	Major Increase
Forest Hills	40.2	Inner Eastern	
Lakeview	26.5	Southern	Moderate Increase
Holly Shelter Swamp	17.0	Northern	
Porter's Neck	16.7	Outer Eastern	
Northside	15.5	Central	
Country Club Estates	14.3	Inner Eastern	
Masonboro	7.8	Outer Eastern	Minor Increase
Courthouse	7.5	Central	
Federal Point	7.5	Outer Eastern	
Carolina Heights	1.9	Central	Stable
Winter Park	1.7	Outer Eastern	
Greenfield Lake	1.1	Southern	
Castle Hayne	-0.9	Northern	
Audubon	-2.2	Inner Eastern	
Sunset Heights	-8.3	Southern	Minor Decline
Waterfront	-27.6	Central	Moderate Decline
Chestnut Heights	-31.1	Inner Eastern	
Dawson/Wooster	-36.7	Central	
Wrightsville Beach	-37.1	Outer Eastern	
Historic District	-77.2	Central	Major Decline

Note: 1. Change in real estate values = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late segregation and early post-segregation periods which represents the change in average real estate value within a neighborhood between the periods.

Source: Real estate value data collected from New Hanover County Register of Deeds for the years 1955 through 1970.

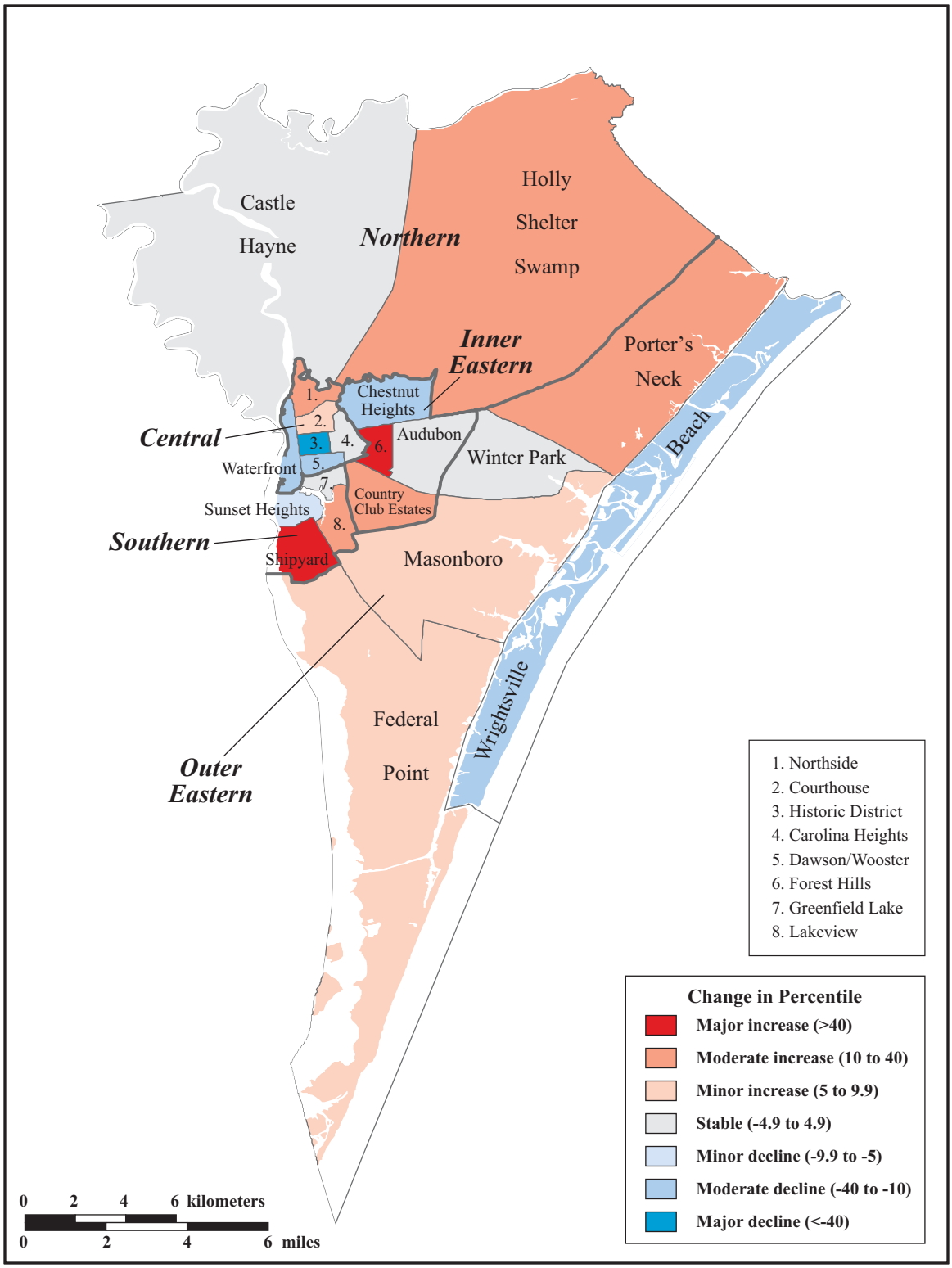

Figure 5-6: Wilmington Change in Real Estate Values, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Central Subregion experienced minor to major increases in real estate values, while 50 percent experienced minor, moderate, or major declines in values. While the real estate values peaked in the Central Subregion during both periods (Tables 5-4 and 5-5 and Figures 5-4 and 5-5), the change in real estate values between the periods shows that the Central Subregion was, for the most part, experiencing decline. A review of the data also indicates that moderate to major increases in real estate values in neighborhoods outside of the Central Subregion were not just confined to areas within the Inner Eastern and Southern subregions but also included neighborhoods such as Holly Shelter Swamp and Porter's Neck in the Northern and Outer Eastern subregions, respectively.

Patterns of Business Locations

During the late segregation period, business locations were overwhelmingly concentrated in the neighborhoods of Waterfront, Courthouse, Historic District, and Dawson/Wooster within the CBD in the Central Subregion (Table 5-7 and Figure 5-7). Numbers of businesses in excess of 250 percent of the citywide mean occurred in all four of the neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of

Table 5-7: Wilmington Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

Neighborhood	Number of Businesses[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Waterfront	1057.1	779.4	Significantly Above Average
Courthouse	418.2	308.3	
Historic District	364.1	268.5	
Dawson/Wooster	362.0	266.9	
Carolina Heights	178.5	131.6	Slightly Above Average
Northside	152.6	112.5	Average
Greenfield Lake	76.2	56.2	Below Average
Sunset Heights	74.5	54.9	
Audubon	47.2	34.8	Significantly Below Average
Shipyard	33.3	24.6	
Lakeview	26.5	19.5	
Chestnut Heights	22.1	16.3	
Forest Hills	20.3	14.9	
Country Club Estates	6.6	4.9	
Winter Park	5.0	3.7	
Castle Hayne	1.6	1.2	
Masonboro	1.1	0.8	
Wrightsville Beach	0.6	0.4	
Porter's Neck	0.4	0.3	
Holly Shelter Swamp	0.3	0.2	
Federal Point	0.2	0.1	
Citywide Mean	**135.6**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Number of businesses = Businesses per 1,000 hectares located within a neighborhood.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of the number of businesses located within a neighborhood relative to the average number of businesses located in all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Sources: Business location data collected from Hill's Directories (1955 and 1960).

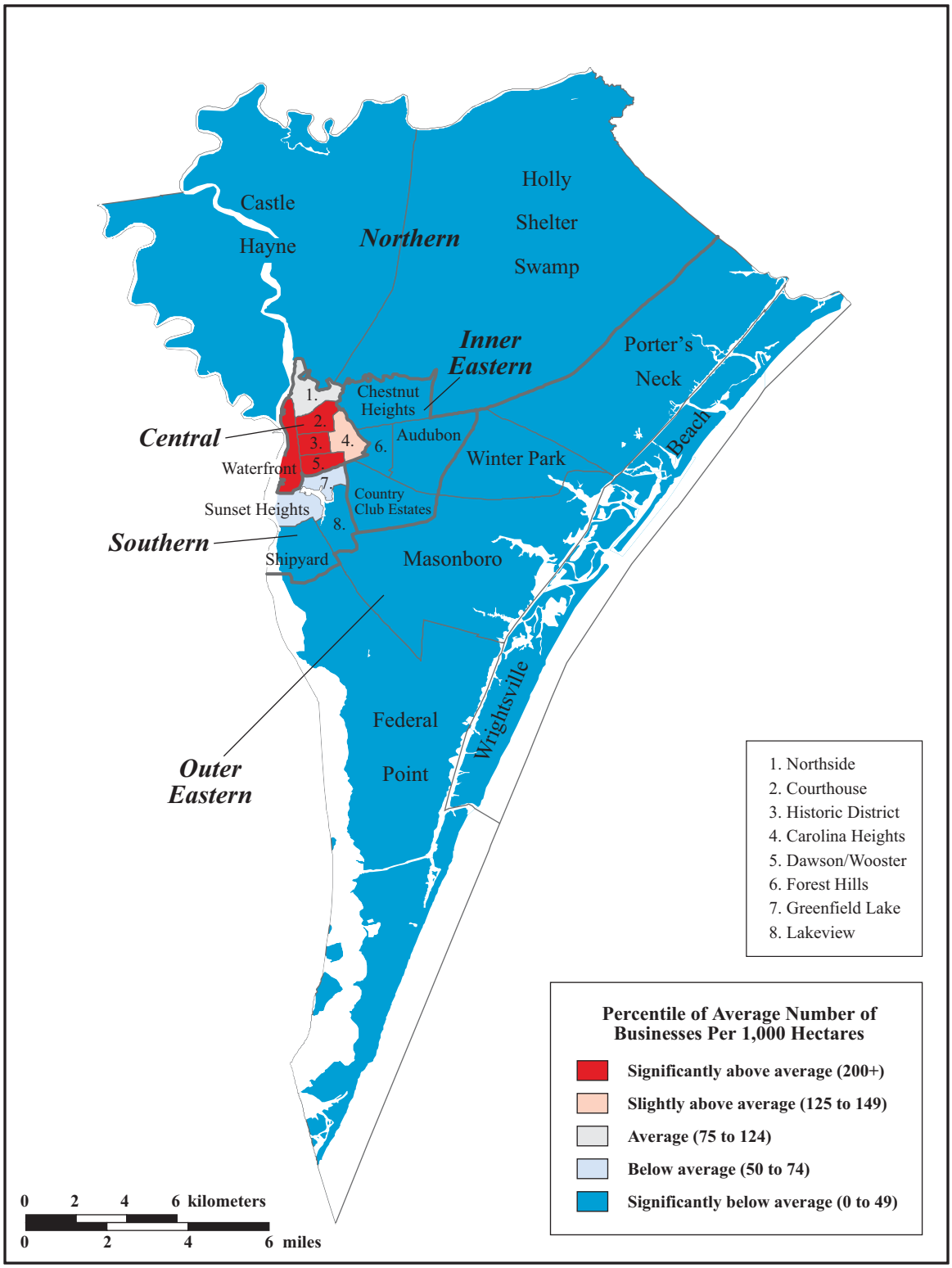

Figure 5-7: Wilmington Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Late Segregation Period (1955-1964)

Waterfront having numbers equal to 779 percent of the citywide mean. None of the neighborhoods had moderately above average numbers, and only one neighborhood, Carolina Heights in the Central Subregion, had slightly above average numbers of businesses. Three neighborhoods, Northside in the Central Subregion and Greenfield Lake and Sunset Heights in the Southern Subregion, had average to below average numbers of businesses. The remainder of the city, which included 87 percent (13 of 15) of the neighborhoods located outside the Central Subregion, had significantly below average levels of business activity. Of those thirteen neighborhoods, six (Holly Shelter Swamp and Castle Hayne in the Northern Subregion, and Federal Point, Porter's Neck, Wrightsville Beach, and Masonboro in the Outer Eastern Subregion) contained almost no businesses, ranging from 0.1 to 1.2 percent of the citywide mean number of businesses. Five of the six were historically rural.

Patterns of business location from the early post-segregation period primarily exhibited continuity of patterns first identified during the late segregation period, though several small divergences were observed. Businesses continued to overwhelmingly be clustered in the

neighborhoods of Waterfront, Courthouse, Historic District, and Dawson/Wooster within the Central Subregion (Table 5-8 and Figure 5-8). During this period, numbers of businesses in excess of 230 percent of the citywide mean occurred in all four of the neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of Waterfront having numbers equal to 613 percent of the citywide mean. Likewise, Carolina Heights in the Central Subregion continued to have slightly above average numbers of businesses, while Northside in the Central Subregion and Greenfield Lake and Sunset Heights in the Southern Subregion continued to have average or below average numbers of businesses. Finally, the neighborhoods of Holly Shelter Swamp and Castle Hayne within the Northern Subregion, and Federal Point, Porter's Neck, Wrightsville Beach, and Masonboro in the Outer Eastern Subregion continued to have the least business activity in the city. However, one notable change occurred. The neighborhood of Audubon in the Inner Eastern Subregion shifted from being significantly below average to average in terms of number of businesses between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods.

Further examination of patterns of business locations from the late segregation and early post-segregation

Table 5-8: Wilmington Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

Neighborhood	Number of Businesses[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Waterfront	733.9	612.8	
Courthouse	464.5	387.9	Significantly
Historic District	306.2	255.7	Above Average
Dawson/Wooster	277.9	232.1	
Carolina Heights	171.6	143.3	Slightly Above Average
Northside	114.4	95.6	
Greenfield Lake	95.3	79.5	Average
Audubon	91.7	76.6	
Sunset Heights	74.5	62.2	Below Average
Shipyard	51.5	43.0	
Forest Hills	38.5	32.2	
Chestnut Heights	33.2	27.7	
Lakeview	23.2	19.4	
Country Club Estates	19.1	15.9	
Winter Park	6.7	5.6	Significantly
Masonboro	4.7	3.9	Below Average
Castle Hayne	2.5	2.1	
Wrightsville Beach	2.1	1.7	
Porter's Neck	1.6	1.4	
Holly Shelter Swamp	1.1	0.9	
Federal Point	0.7	0.6	
Citywide Mean	**119.8**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Number of businesses = Businesses per 1,000 hectares located within a neighborhood.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of the number of businesses located within a neighborhood relative to the average number of businesses located in all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Sources: Business location data collected from Hill's Directories (1965 and 1970).

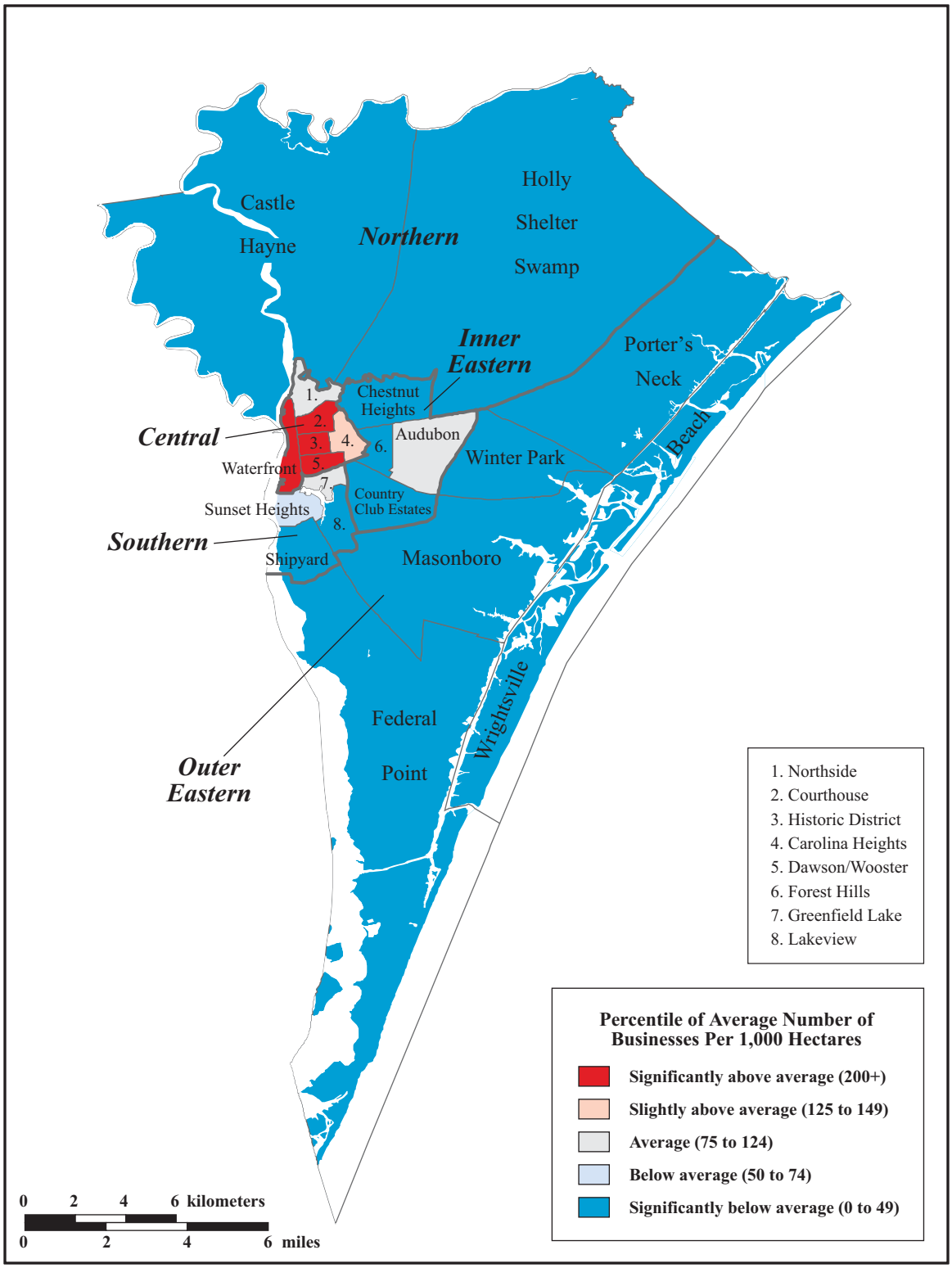

Figure 5-8: Wilmington Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Segregation Period (1965-1970)

periods indicates that increasing business activity outside the Central Subregion was not confined to Audubon and instead was impacting most neighborhoods in the Inner Eastern and Southern subregions (Table 5-9 and Figure 5-9). The arithmetic difference between the rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide mean for number of businesses during each of the two periods indicates that 88 percent (seven of eight) of neighborhoods in Inner Eastern and Southern subregions experienced at least minor increases in business activity.[8] Conversely, 66 percent (four of six) of neighborhoods in the Central Subregion experienced declines in business activity. No notable change in locations of businesses occurred in any of the neighborhoods in the Northern and Outer Eastern subregions.

Similarities and Differences Among Patterns

During the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, numerous similarities were observed among patterns of real estate activity, real estate values, and locations

8 The arithmetic change in numbers of businesses within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean in the late segregation period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean during the early post-segregation period. For example, Waterfront ranked 779.4% above the citywide mean in the late segregation period and 612.8% above the citywide mean in the early post-segregation period for a negative change of 166.6 in percentile rank (a major decline).

Table 5-9: Wilmington Change in Business Activity, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Business Activity[1]	Subregion	Category
Courthouse	79.6	Central	Major Increase
Audubon	41.8	Inner Eastern	
Greenfield Lake	23.3	Southern	Moderate Increase
Shipyard	18.4	Southern	
Forest Hills	17.3	Inner Eastern	
Carolina Heights	11.7	Central	
Chestnut Heights	11.4	Inner Eastern	
Country Club Estates	11.0	Inner Eastern	
Sunset Heights	7.3	Southern	Minor Increase
Masonboro	3.1	Outer Eastern	Stable
Winter Park	1.9	Outer Eastern	
Wrightsville Beach	1.3	Outer Eastern	
Porter's Neck	1.1	Outer Eastern	
Castle Hayne	0.9	Northern	
Holly Shelter Swamp	0.7	Northern	
Federal Point	0.5	Outer Eastern	
Lakeview	-0.1	Southern	
Historic District	-12.8	Central	Moderate Decline
Northside	-16.9	Central	
Dawson/Wooster	-34.8	Central	
Waterfront	-166.6	Central	Major Decline

Note: 1. Change in business activity = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late segregation and early post-segregation periods which represents the change in the number of businesses located within a neighborhood between the periods.
Source: Business location data collected from Hill's Directories (1955, 1960, 1965, 1970).

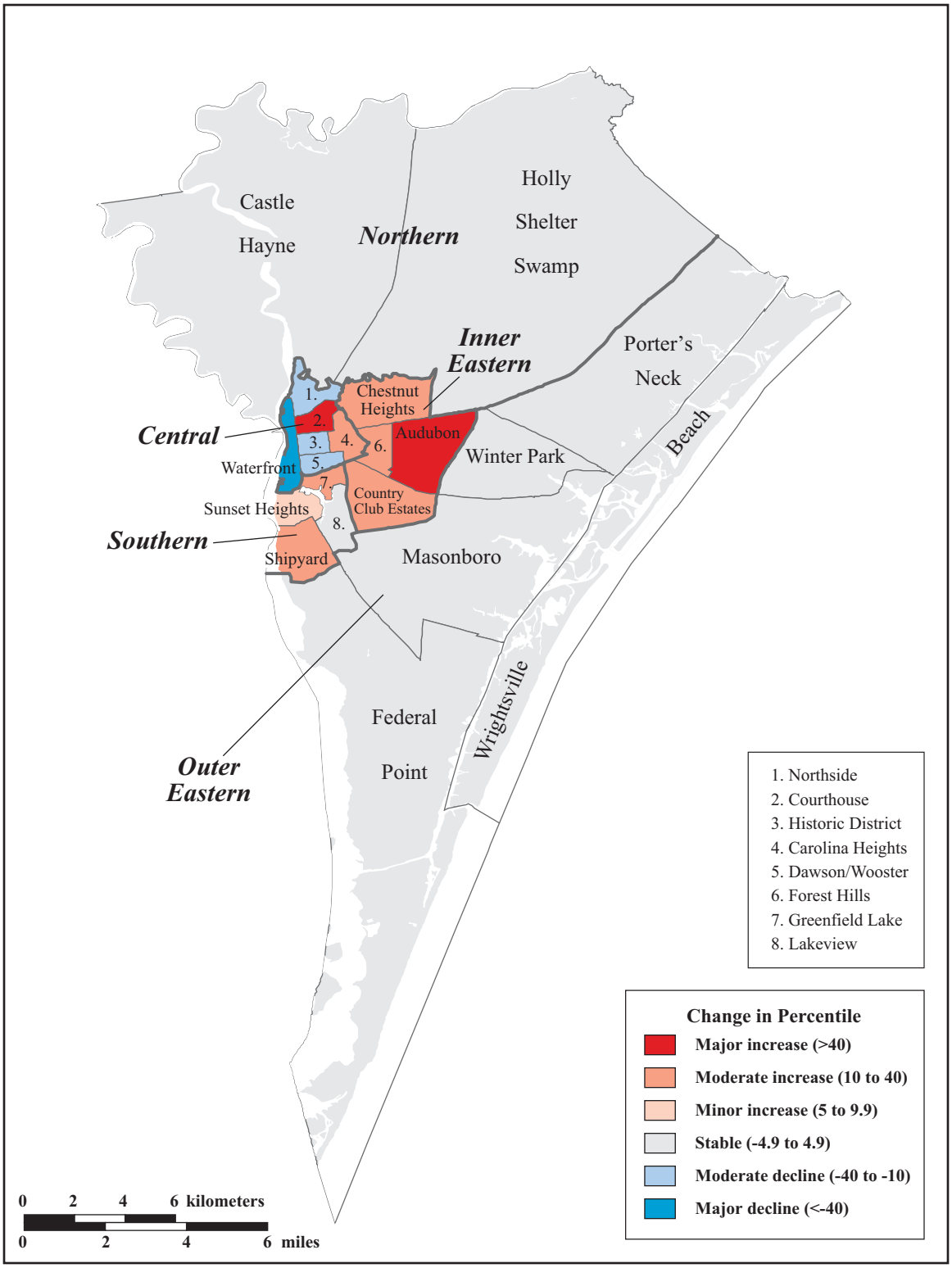

Figure 5-9: Wilmington Change in Business Activity, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

of businesses, including:

1. Peaks for real estate activity, real estate values, and number of businesses existed in the Central Subregion. There was also a peak for real estate values in Wrightsville Beach in the Outer Eastern Subregion due to vacation home prices in that neighborhood.

2. Neighborhoods containing the least real estate activity, lowest real estate values, and fewest businesses were normally situated along, or towards, the historically rural northern, eastern, and southern edges of the city.

3. Real estate activity, real estate values, and number of businesses declined in a geographically nonuniform manner when proceeding away from the peak cluster in the Central Subregion. Generally, a gradual decline occurred when proceeding east or south away from the Central Subregion, due to the transportation corridors along which growth was occurring, while a dramatic decline occurred when proceeding to the north due to the rural nature of the neighborhoods in the Northern Subregion.

4. In terms of change between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, increases in real estate activity, real estate values, and number of businesses disproportionately occurred in neighborhoods outside the Central Subregion, while declines disproportionately occurred within the Central Subregion.

In addition to the various similarities among the patterns, differences also existed, particularly in terms of which neighborhoods outside the Central Subregion were the primary benefactors of growth. For instance, among neighborhoods outside of the Central Subregion in which

growth in real estate activity occurred between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, it was primarily neighborhoods that were relatively distant from the Central Subregion that experienced the largest increases. Conversely, among the areas outside of the Central Subregion in which growth in numbers of businesses occurred between the periods, it was primarily neighborhoods adjacent or in proximity to the Central Subregion that experienced increases. Finally, the patterns of change in real estate values were a cross between the patterns for real estate activity and locations of businesses. Among areas outside of the Central Subregion, the greatest increases in real estate values occurred in neighborhoods adjacent or in proximity to the Central Subregion, while smaller, but still notable, increases in values also occurred in neighborhoods more distant from the Central Subregion.

Correlates to Patterns of Real Estate and Business Change

The patterns of real estate activity, real estate values, and business locations presented in this chapter indicate that Wilmington in the 1950s and 1960s was a city in flux. On the one hand, the patterns describe a city

that could have been pulled directly from the pages of a classical economic geography textbook. The geographic landscape of Wilmington was dominated by the CBD, which included not only the vast majority of the city's businesses but was also the location of peak real estate values and activity. Proceeding away from the CBD, the numbers of businesses, real estate values, and levels of real estate activity declined as one would expect based on Burgess's (1924) concentric zone model (Figure 5-10). Additionally, these declines occurred in a geographically uneven manner, as one might expect based on Hoyt's (1939) sectoral model (Figure 5-10). Declines in numbers of businesses, real estate values, and real estate activity occurred more gradually to the east and south along the traditional growth corridors of Market Street, Oleander Drive, and Carolina Beach Road, while the declines occurred more quickly towards the north which did not have a growth corridor and was traditionally rural.

The patterns show that Wilmington was beginning to suburbanize, a process that by the early 1980s would move the core away from the Central Subregion and shift the geographic landscape of the city to become more like Harris and Ullman's (1959) multiple nuclei model rather than

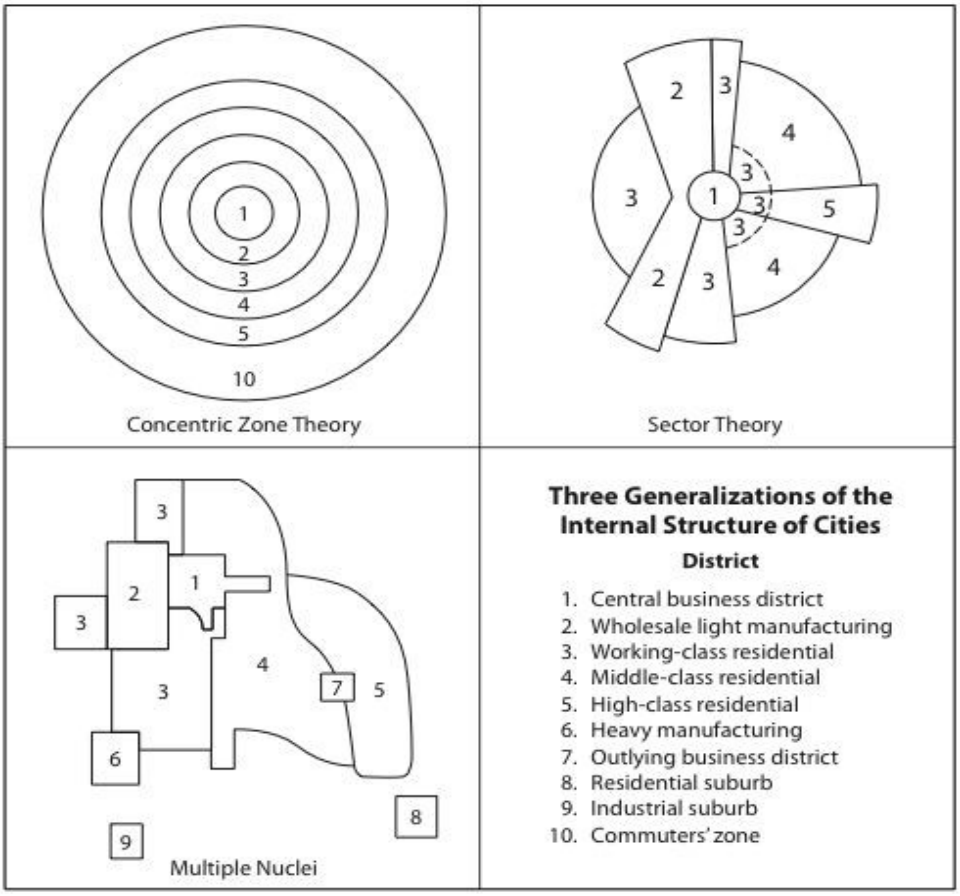

Figure 5-10: Concentric Zone, Sectoral, and Multiple Nuclei Urban Models

Source: Based on Johnston, R.J., Derek Gregory, and David M. Smith, eds. The Dictionary of Human Geography. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994, p.402.

either the concentric zone or sectoral models (Figure 5-10). For instance, the primary locations for growth in business locations, real estate values, and real estate activity were consistently in neighborhoods outside the Central Subregion. These patterns, together with the rise of Audubon by the early post-segregation period as an incipient locus for business activity, are both examples of patterns that were leading to the eventual decline of the CBD-centric patterns that were still present in the 1950s and 1960s.

The fact that suburbanization was beginning to occur in Wilmington during the 1950s and 1960s is not surprising. In the decades following World War II, suburbanization swept across the United States as Americans increasingly relied on automobiles for transport. Additionally, government programs to increase homeownership, construct the interstate highway system, and foster urban renewal fueled suburbanization. However, was the suburbanization that occurred in Wilmington also shaped by attitudes or opportunities that resulted from successes of the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s? In the American South, impediments used to keep large numbers of blacks from voting were swept away. Racial discrimination

in employment and places of public accommodation was outlawed. Racial covenants, included in real estate deeds to prevent certain properties from being sold to blacks, had recently been declared unenforceable in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948). School systems were desegregating (Wilmington schools desegregated in 1968). These changes opened the possibility for the dispersion of the black population away from historically black neighborhoods to other areas of the city due to new opportunities available to live in neighborhoods from which blacks were once barred by racial covenants or were otherwise discouraged from residing. Conversely, for some whites, these changes heightened fears, which for those living in proximity to large black populations might well have led them to relocate to different areas in an effort to reduce the frequency of their interactions with blacks. Such changes also had the potential to impact businesses by increasing or decreasing customer bases and changing public perceptions about neighborhoods in which businesses were located.

If the suburbanization of Wilmington was affected by the new opportunities presented by the successes of the civil rights movement, then it is likely that Wilmington's

patterns of change in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses would correlate with the city's racial residential patterns. To determine if such correlations existed, Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated between the patterns of change in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of business that occurred in Wilmington between the late segregation and early post-segregation periods and 13 (seven racial and six non-racial) socioeconomic variables (Table 5-10). The data for the socioeconomic variables were drawn from the 1970 United States Census.

Real Estate Activity Correlates

Racial rather than non-racial variables were the primary correlates to Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate activity during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods (Table 5-11). Among the 13 socioeconomic variables (seven racial and six non-racial) correlated with growth in real estate activity, the strongest coefficients indicated a moderate and inverse relationship with black population, that is, as black population decreased, growth in real estate activity increased. Coefficients for six of the seven racial

Table 5-10: Socioeconomic Variables Used in the Correlation Analysis for Wilmington

Variable Name	Category
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	Racial
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is White	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	Non-racial
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	

Note: 1. These variables were derived by filtering census data through a gravity model to indicate not only the value of the socioeconomic variable within a particular neighborhood but also the status of that variable in areas outside but in proximity to the neighborhood.

The gravity model used in the calculations was:

$$I_{ij} = \sum_{j=1}^{n} P_j / d^{b}_{ij}$$

where I_{ij} = influence of socioeconomic variable in all neighborhoods within the study area on neighborhood i.
P_j = the value of the socioeconomic variable at places j.
d_{ij} = distance separating places i and j
b = frictional effect of distance; in this study, b=2 meaning that the influence of place j on place i is inversely related to the square of the distance.

Source: Data used for the socioeconomic variables were drawn directly or derived from the 1970 US Census.

Table 5-11: Wilmington Correlates to Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	-0.535	Racial	Moderate
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.489	Racial	
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	0.485	Racial	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	-0.484	Racial	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.482	Racial	
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.453	Racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.344	Racial	Moderately Weak
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	0.294	Non-racial	Weak
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	0.219	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.209	Non-racial	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	0.191	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.062	Non-racial	No Correlation
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.054	Non-racial	

Note: Shaded section of the table identifies correlations that were statistically significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Real estate activity data was collected from the New Hanover County Register of Deeds. Independent variable data was collected from United States Bureau of the Census, 1970 Decennial Census of Population.

variables were statistically significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). Coefficients resulting from correlations between Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate activity and the 13 socioeconomic variables ranged from moderate (-0.535) to no correlation (0.054). The mean of the absolute values of the coefficients was moderately weak (0.331). For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from moderate (-0.535) to moderately weak (0.344), while the coefficients for the non-racial variables ranged from moderately weak (0.294) to no correlation (0.054). The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was moderate (0.467), while the mean for the non-racial variables was very weak (0.172).

Real Estate Value Correlates

None of the 13 socioeconomic variables correlated in a statistically significant manner at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) with Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate values during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods (Table 5-12). Coefficients resulting from correlations between Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate values and the 13 socioeconomic variables ranged from moderately weak (-0.424) to no correlation

Table 5-12: Wilmington Correlates to Change in Real Estate Values, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	-0.424	Racial	Moderately Weak
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.416	Racial	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.385	Racial	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	-0.348	Racial	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	0.336	Non-racial	
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	0.303	Racial	Weak
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.291	Racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.281	Racial	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.253	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	0.208	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.156	Non-racial	Very Weak
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	0.081	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.055	Non-racial	No Correlation

Source: Real estate value data was collected from the New Hanover County Register of Deeds. Independent variable data was collected from United States Bureau of the Census, 1970 Decennial Census of Population.

(-0.055). The mean of the absolute values of the coefficients was weak (0.221). For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from moderately weak (-0.424) to weak (0.281), while the coefficients for the non-racial variables ranged from moderately weak (0.336) to no correlation (-0.055). The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was moderately weak (0.350), while the mean for the non-racial variables was very weak (0.182).

Locations of Businesses Correlates

As with real estate values, none of the 13 socioeconomic variables correlated in a statistically significant manner at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) with Wilmington's changing patterns of locations of businesses during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods (Table 5-13). However, unlike real estate values, non-racial rather than racial variables produced the strongest coefficients. Coefficients resulting from correlations between Wilmington's changing patterns of locations of business and the 13 socioeconomic variables ranged from moderately weak (0.328) to no correlation (0.003). The mean of the absolute values of the

Table 5-13: Wilmington Correlates to Change in Business Locations, Late Segregation (1955-1964) to Early Post-Segregation (1965-1970) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	0.328	Non-racial	Moderately Weak
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.297	Non-racial	Weak
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	0.259	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	0.210	Non-racial	
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.198	Racial	
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	0.187	Racial	Very Weak
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.156	Non-racial	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.082	Racial	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.080	Racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.048	Non-racial	No Correlation
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	-0.018	Racial	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	-0.016	Racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.003	Racial	

Source: Business location data was collected from Hill's Directories. Independent variable data was collected from United States Bureau of the Census, 1970 Decennial Census of Population.

coefficients was very weak (0.145). For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from weak (0.198) to no correlation (0.003), while the coefficients for the non-racial variables ranged from moderately weak (0.328) to no correlation (0.048). The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was very weak (0.083), while the mean for the non-racial variables was weak (0.216).

Conclusions of the Correlation Analyses

Correlations completed for this chapter indicate that racial factors were the predominant correlates to Wilmington's patterns of change in real estate activity during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods. However, the racial correlates were of only moderate to moderately weak strength. Conversely, none of the correlations related to changes in real estate values or changes in locations of businesses produced statistically significant results. The strongest correlating variables in the real estate activity analyses were “size of black population in neighborhood” and “size of black population in and in proximity to neighborhood.” Both of these variables were inversely related to the

patterns of growth in real estate activity, meaning growth disproportionately occurred in neighborhoods with small black populations and which were relatively distant from neighborhoods containing large black populations. Additionally, the ordering of results indicate that the absolute size of the black population in or in proximity to a neighborhood was a better predicator of increases in real estate activity than the percentage of blacks in or in proximity to a neighborhood.

Based on the correlation results, is there reason to believe that the attitudes and opportunities which resulted from the successes of the civil rights movement shaped patterns of suburbanization in Wilmington during the 1950s and 1960s? The answer is "possibly," but the correlations were not strong enough to say definitively. While statistically significant results pointing to race as a correlate of changes in real estate activity were derived, similar results for changes in real estate values and changes in locations of businesses were not produced. Additionally, in the case of changes in locations of businesses, non-racial variables produced stronger coefficients than racial variables. Therefore, while the attitudes and opportunities related to the civil rights

movement's successes may have shaped Wilmington's patterns of suburbanization, the impact was probably on residential rather than business patterns.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the Residential and Business Landscapes of Bloemfontein, South Africa, During the Late Apartheid and Early Post-Apartheid Periods

The late apartheid (1984-1994) and early post-apartheid (1995-1998) periods were a time of upheaval and change within the Republic of South Africa. During these periods, restrictions limiting the activities of anti-apartheid organizations were lifted, civil rights successes such as the scrapping of the Group Areas Act (1958), pass laws, and segregated schooling were achieved, and the country's first fully multiracial election occurred.[1] These changes allowed for the first large-scale unhindered rural to urban migration of blacks in South African history. Likewise, black, coloured, and Asian populations were allowed for the first time in South African history to live in any neighborhood within a city as long as they could afford to purchase or rent the properties.

The 1980s and 1990s were also a period of quickening

1 The Group Areas Act (1958) empowered the Government of South Africa to establish *de jure* segregation by designating residential and business areas for particular racial groups. The pass laws were a series of statutes that required black South Africans to carry and provide to government officials upon demand passes that identified where they were allowed to live and travel. Black South Africans caught in areas outside those identified on their passes were subject to being fined or jailed.

suburbanization in South Africa. Like populations in the American South during the 1950s and 1960s, South Africans during the late 20th century came increasingly to rely upon automobiles for personal transport, a shift that facilitated the outward growth of South African cities. Likewise, the 1980s and 1990s brought an end to apartheid-era zoning and land development laws that had kept South African cities racially segregated but also oriented for retail and commercial purposes towards their central business districts.

Hence, the 1980s and 1990s were a time of civil rights progress and suburbanization, but was it a time of civil rights-precipitated suburbanization? This chapter will explore this question by tracking intra-urban landscape changes during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods in the city of Bloemfontein, a community that serves as an exemplar of a typical South African city. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, three indices (real estate activity, real estate values, and business locations) which provide insight into Bloemfontein's urban landscape are tracked during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, with a focus on determining what, if any, changes in urban geographic

patterns occurred between the two periods. In the second section, these urban geographic patterns are correlated statistically with socioeconomic variables (racial and non-racial) to identify what factors may have precipitated the changes.

Research Data and Methodology

Data to identify patterns of real estate activity and real estate values in Bloemfontein during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods were collected from real property deeds archived at the Bloemfontein Deeds Office.[2,3] Twenty-one-thousand-nine-hundred-eighty-six deeds executed between 1984 and 1998 and involving real property in Bloemfontein were selected using a stratified sampling strategy.[4] These deeds were then reviewed to identify the: (1) geographic location (neighborhood) of the real property being transferred, (2) geographic extent (area) of the real

2 Real property is defined as land and generally whatever is erected on, growing on, or affixed to the land.

3 For the purpose of this study, real estate activity is defined as any instance in which an ownership of real property is transferred from one entity (such as a person, group of persons, or corporation) to another. Sales are the most common type of real estate activity, though not the only type. For instance, foreclosures, gifts, and condemnations also meet the definition.

4 A stratified sample is one in which data are selected to fulfill some predefined goal in creating the sample. In the case of the Bloemfontein real property sample, stratified sampling was used to collect information on all real property transfers that occurred between 1993 and 1998 and approximately 100 randomly selected property transfers per year between 1984 and 1992.

property being transferred, and (3) value of the financial transaction (for example, the sales price) associated with the transfer.

To obtain the dataset used to identify the patterns of real estate activity, the number of transfers were tabulated per neighborhood for each year of the study (1984 to 1998) and normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area. For example, if a neighborhood with an area of 500 hectares had 10 transfers in a particular year, the normalized transfers would equal 20 transfers per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area for that year. For each neighborhood, the number of normalized transfers were then grouped by period (1984 to 1994 and 1995 to 1998) and averaged for each period to arrive at the number of transfers per neighborhood per period.

A similar methodology was employed to create the dataset for real estate values. The financial value of each transfer was divided by the geographic extent of that property to obtain the value per square meter. For example, if a 5,000 square meter property sold for R50,000, the value would be R10 per square meter. All of the values were then averaged per neighborhood for each year of the study (1984 to 1998). The yearly averages were then

grouped by period and averaged to arrive at the value of each neighborhood per period.

To identify patterns of business location in Bloemfontein during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, data were collected from Bloemfontein municipal directories published by the South African Department of Post and Telecommunications and Telkom Directory Services between 1984 and 1998.[5] Two-thousand-seven-hundred-eighty-four business locations were selected using a systematic sampling method.[6] The numbers of businesses were then normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area. For example, if a neighborhood with an area of 2,000 hectares had 50 businesses in a particular year, the number of businesses per 1,000 hectares would equal 25 for that year. The numbers of businesses were then grouped by period and averaged to determine the count per neighborhood per period.

5 For the purpose of this study, the term business refers to any form of commercial activity including retail, personal, professional, corporate, and transportation services and industrial activity.

6 A systematic sample is one in which data are selected with numerical or spatial regularity in the sampling technique. In the case of the Bloemfontein business sample, systematic sampling was used to collect information on every fifth business location listed in the municipal directories.

Patterns of Real Estate Activity

During the late apartheid period, real estate activity peaked in the neighborhoods of Navalsig, Westdene, and Willows consisting of portions of the CBD within the Central Subregion and the neighborhood of Pentagonpark within the Northern Subregion (Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1). Real estate activity in excess of 200 percent of the citywide mean occurred in these neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of Navalsig having numbers equal to 511 percent of the citywide mean. Surrounding the peak activity within the Central Subregion was a pair of neighborhoods (Stad and Hospitaalpark) with lower, yet still moderately above average, real estate activity. Beyond this cluster, real estate activity declined but not in a geographically uniform manner. Instead, a gradual drop off in real estate activity occurred when proceeding north or southwest from the Central Subregion, while a more dramatic decline in activity occurred when proceeding to the south, southeast, and east. Neighborhoods with the least real estate activity were in the industrial and largely rural neighborhood of Ooseinde/Bloemspruit in the Eastern Subregion and the black township of Mangaung in the Southeastern Subregion.

Table 6-1: Bloemfontein Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Activity[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Navalsig	1583.6	511.1	Significantly Above Average
Pentagonpark	826.5	266.8	
Westdene	750.6	242.3	
Willows	649.4	209.6	
Hospitaalpark	594.5	191.9	Moderately Above Average
Stad	527.3	170.2	
Uitsig	475.1	153.4	
Wilgehof	407.8	131.6	Slightly Above Average
Heidedal	401.8	129.7	
Pellissier	389.6	125.8	
Heuwelsig	379.5	122.5	Average
Dan Pienaar	305.8	98.7	
Hilton	295.4	95.4	
Brandwag	287.6	92.9	
Hillsboro	240.9	77.8	
Gardeniapark	239.2	77.2	
Fauna	226.0	73.0	Below Average
Fichardtpark	204.5	66.0	
Universitas	203.3	65.6	
Lourierpark	202.9	65.5	
Heliconhoogte	197.7	63.8	
Fleurdal	158.3	51.1	
Waverly	155.2	50.1	
Arboretum	139.6	45.1	Significantly Below Average
Bayswater	138.3	44.7	
Noordhoek	127.1	41.0	
Generaal de Wet	123.5	39.9	
Oranjesig	120.1	38.8	
Parkwes	70.5	22.7	
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	58.0	18.7	
Hamilton	29.8	9.6	
Ehrlichpark	20.8	6.7	
Mangaung	2.6	0.8	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	0.8	0.3	
Citywide Mean	**309.8**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate activity = Average real estate activity normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate activity within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate activity for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1984 through 1994.

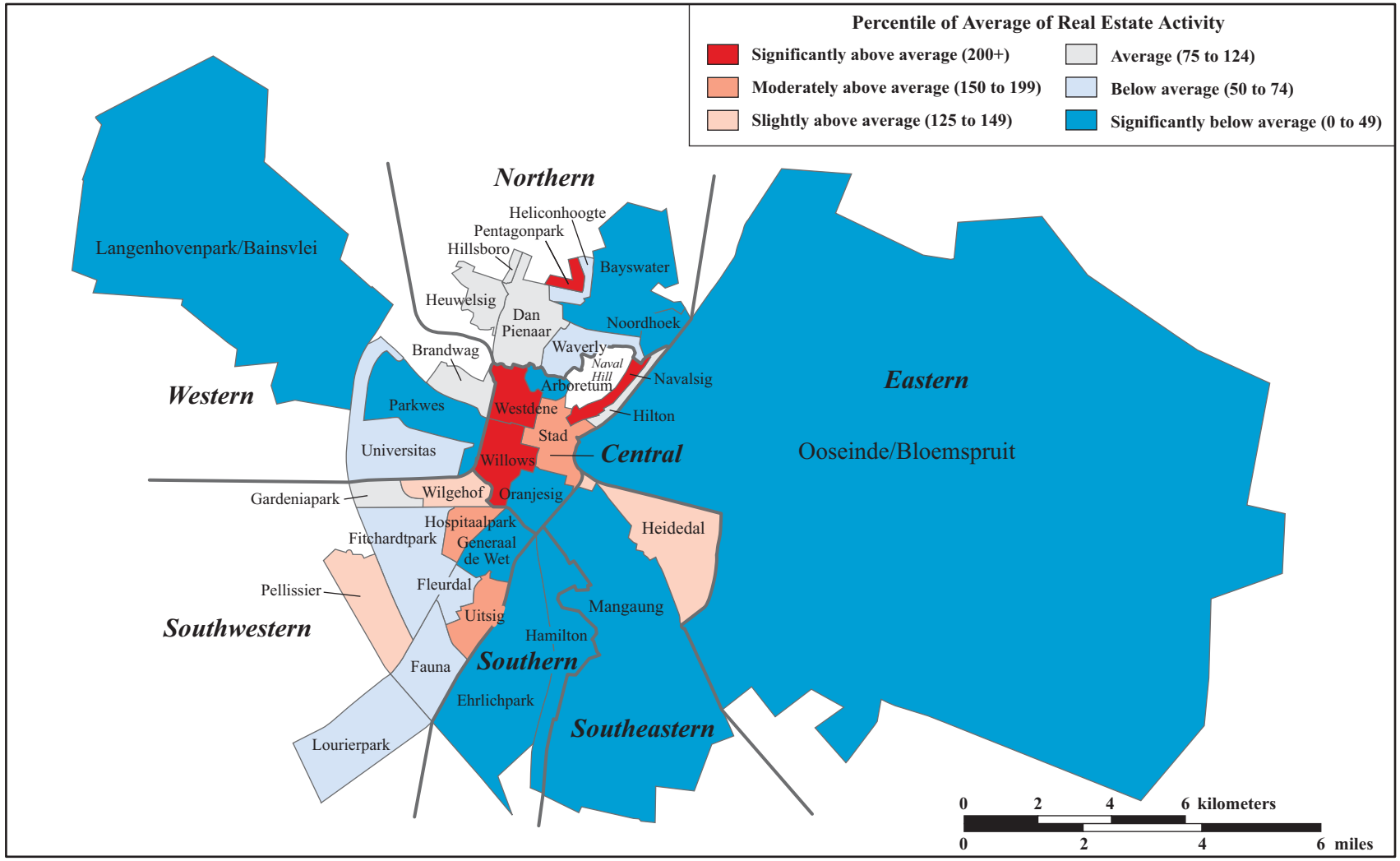

Figure 6-1: Bloemfontein Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

During the early post-apartheid period, patterns of real estate activity were similar, but not identical, to those that occurred during the late apartheid period. Real estate activity continued to peak in neighborhoods within or adjacent to the Central Subregion (in Navalsig, Westdene, and Wilgehof) and in the upper-middle class neighborhood of Pentagonpark in the Northern Subregion (Table 6-2 and Figure 6-2). Real estate activity in excess of 200 percent of the citywide mean occurred in each of the neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of Navalsig having numbers equal to 407 percent of the citywide mean. Likewise, the neighborhoods of Ooseinde/Bloemspruit in the Eastern Subregion and Mangaung in the Southeastern Subregion continued to experience the least real estate activity. Among the remaining neighborhoods, declines in real estate activity continued to be geographically nonuniform when proceeding away from the Central Subregion, with a gradual drop off in activity when proceeding to the historically white middle- to upper-middle class neighborhoods to the north, west, and southwest from the Central Subregion, while a more dramatic decline in activity occurred when proceeding to the neighborhoods in the south, southeast, and east which were poorer and had

Table 6-2: Bloemfontein Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Activity[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Navalsig	1550.4	406.9	
Pentagonpark	1250.3	328.1	Significantly
Westdene	1098.0	288.2	Above Average
Wilgehof	860.6	225.9	
Hilton	731.1	191.9	
Stad	622.8	163.4	Moderately
Uitsig	613.7	161.1	Above Average
Willows	517.9	135.9	Slightly Above Average
Pellissier	465.7	122.2	
Heuwelsig	461.8	121.2	
Dan Pienaar	444.0	116.5	
Hospitaalpark	395.1	103.7	
Heidedal	362.9	95.2	Average
Universitas	351.2	92.2	
Hillsboro	337.3	88.5	
Brandwag	325.3	85.4	
Gardeniapark	276.9	72.7	
Fauna	261.6	68.7	
Fichardtpark	246.1	64.6	
Lourierpark	226.2	59.4	Below Average
Heliconhoogte	212.9	55.9	
Oranjesig	193.7	50.8	
Waverly	180.7	47.4	
Fleurdal	172.6	45.3	
Generaal de Wet	150.1	39.4	
Bayswater	150.1	39.4	
Noordhoek	118.3	31.0	
Parkwes	117.1	30.7	Significantly
Arboretum	104.7	27.5	Below Average
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	78.9	20.7	
Hamilton	30.9	8.1	
Ehrlichpark	25.2	6.6	
Mangaung	19.6	5.1	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	1.8	0.5	
Citywide Mean	**381.0**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate activity = Average real estate activity normalized per 1,000 hectares of neighborhood area.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate activity within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate activity for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1995 through 1998.

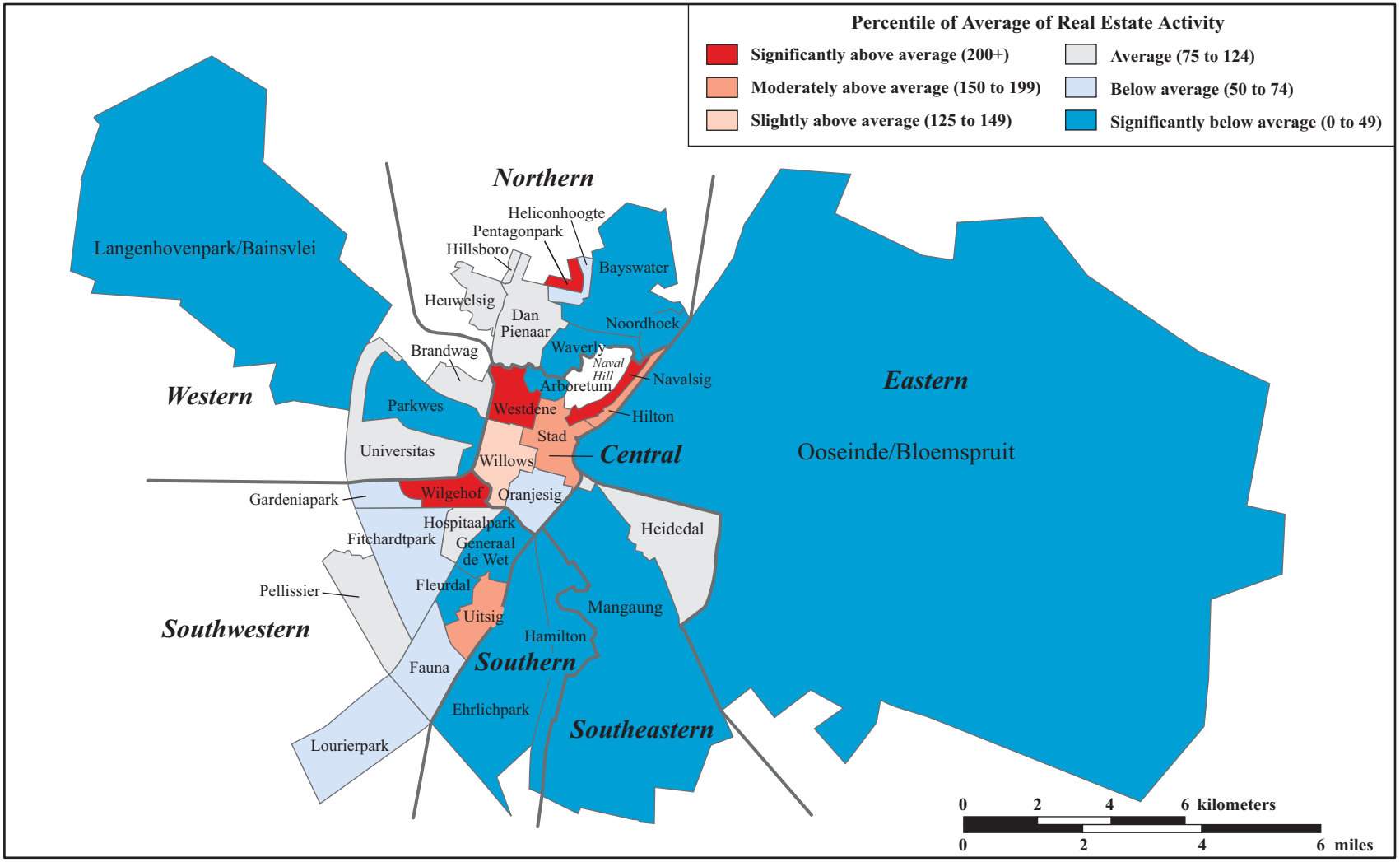

Figure 6-2: Bloemfontein Real Estate Activity Normalized by Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

more industrial land uses.

The continuity in patterns of real estate activity between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods is reinforced when the arithmetic difference between the percentile rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide means during each of the two periods is calculated.[7] For instance, 35 percent (12 of 34) of neighborhoods in the city experienced stable conditions of real estate activity between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, while an additional 27 percent (nine of 34) of neighborhoods experienced only a minor increase or decrease in activity (Table 6-3 and Figure 6-3). Most of the neighborhoods experiencing stable or marginally-changing conditions were situated in the Southwestern Subregion and the rural, industrial, and township areas of the city in the Southern, Southeastern, and Eastern subregions.

Certain neighborhoods within or adjacent to the Central Subregion maintained the peak real estate activity in that

7 The arithmetic change in real estate activity within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean in the late apartheid period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean during the early post-apartheid period. For example, Stad ranked 170.2% above the citywide mean in the late apartheid period and 163.4% in the early post-apartheid period for a negative change of 6.8 in percentile rank (a minor decline).

Table 6-3: Bloemfontein Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Real Estate Activity[1]	Subregion	Category
Hilton	96.5	Central	Major Increase
Wilgehof	94.3	Southwestern	
Pentagonpark	61.3	Northern	
Westdene	45.9	Central	
Universitas	26.6	Western	Moderate Increase
Dan Pienaar	17.8	Northern	
Oranjesig	12.0	Central	
Hillsboro	10.7	Northern	
Parkwes	8.0	Western	Minor Increase
Uitsig	7.7	Southwestern	
Mangaung	4.3	Southeastern	Stable
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	2.0	Western	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	0.2	Eastern	
Ehrlichpark	-0.1	Southern	
Generaal de Wet	-0.5	Southwestern	
Heuwelsig	-1.3	Northern	
Fichardtpark	-1.4	Southwestern	
Hamilton	-1.5	Southern	
Waverly	-2.7	Northern	
Pellissier	-3.6	Southwestern	
Fauna	-4.3	Southwestern	
Gardeniapark	-4.5	Southwestern	
Bayswater	-5.3	Northern	Minor Decline
Fleurdal	-5.8	Southwestern	
Lourierpark	-6.1	Southwestern	
Stad	-6.8	Central	
Brandwag	-7.5	Western	
Heliconhoogte	-7.9	Northern	
Noordhoek	-10.0	Northern	
Arboretum	-17.6	Central	Moderate Decline
Heidedal	-34.5	Southeastern	
Willows	-73.7	Central	Major Decline
Hospitaalpark	-88.2	Southwestern	
Navalsig	-104.2	Central	

Notes: 1. Change in real estate activity = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods which represents the change in average real estate activity within a neighborhood between the periods.

Source: Real estate activity data collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1984 through 1998.

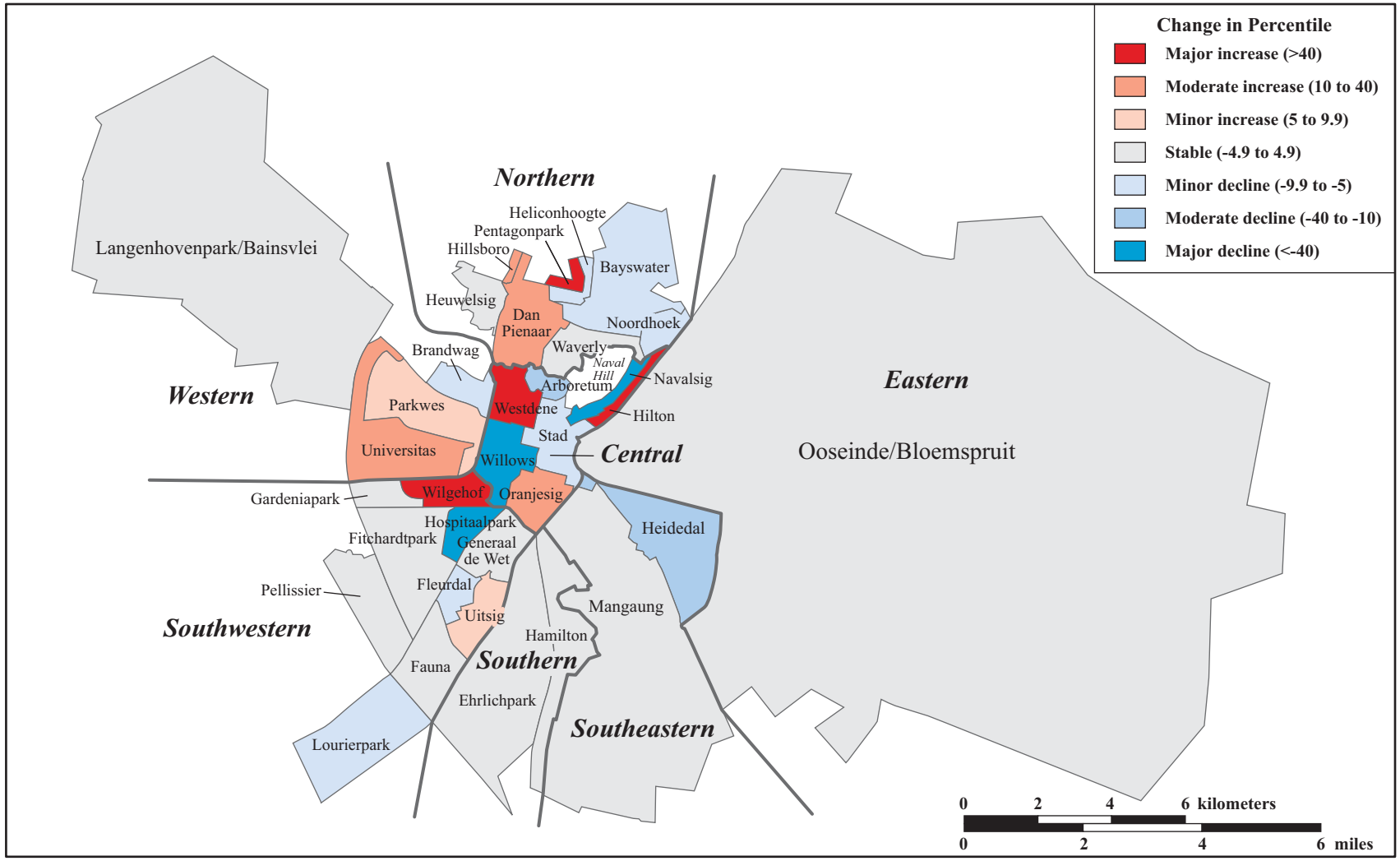

Figure 6-3: Bloemfontein Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

subregion between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, such as Westdene and Wilgehof, while other similarly situated neighborhoods experienced major decline, such as Navalsig and Willows. Therefore, the Central Subregion was still an area of high real estate activity but was not uniformly maintaining that level of activity. Also, 100 percent (five of five) of neighborhoods that experienced moderate to major decline were within or adjacent to the Central Subregion. Conversely, 75 percent (six of eight) of neighborhoods that experienced moderate to major increases in real estate activity were located within or adjacent to the Western and Northern subregions. Pentagonpark in the Northern Subregion maintained its status as a peak for real estate activity and two additional upper-middle class neighborhoods immediately west of Pentagonpark but also within the Northern Subregion (Dan Pienaar and Hillsboro) emerged with moderate increases between the two periods. The Western Subregion neighborhoods of Parkwes and Universitas, together with the Southwestern Subregion neighborhood of Wilgehof, formed a cluster of increased real estate activity along the western border of the Central Subregion, while the Central Subregion neighborhood

of Hilton emerged as an area of major increase on the northeastern border of the subregion, indicating that real estate activity was increasing further away from, but still adjacent to, the core of the Central Subregion.

Patterns of Real Estate Values

During the late apartheid period, Bloemfontein experienced a highly polarized pattern of real estate values. Seventy-one percent (five of seven) of Central Subregion neighborhoods had significantly above average real estate values (Willows, Arboretum, Westdene, Stad, and Navalsig) (Table 6-4 and Figure 6-4). Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei within the Western Subregion was the one additional neighborhood outside of the Central Subregion to have significantly above average values. Real estate values in excess of 300 percent of the citywide median occurred in all six of these neighborhoods. Bloemfontein's only neighborhoods with moderately above average or average real estate values (Heuwelsig and Pentagonpark) were not adjacent or in proximity to either the Central Subregion peak value cluster or Langenovenpark/ Bainsvlei but instead were situated along the northern edge of the city. A little less than half (two of five) of

Table 6-4: Bloemfontein Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Values[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Willows	R1,978.92	442.9	
Arboretum	1,725.63	386.2	
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	1,656.97	370.8	Significantly
Westdene	1,535.42	343.6	Above Average
Stad	1,491.45	333.8	
Navalsig	1,437.60	321.7	
Heuwelsig	683.52	153.0	Moderately Above Average
Pentagonpark	435.60	97.5	Average
Pellissier	285.87	64.0	
Uitsig	276.76	61.9	
Hospitaalpark	261.89	58.6	Below Average
Heliconhoogte	236.35	52.9	
Waverly	223.56	50.0	
Hillsboro	217.72	48.7	
Parkwes	210.46	47.1	
Dan Pienaar	208.44	46.7	
Brandwag	200.39	44.8	
Fichardtpark	193.95	43.4	
Fauna	193.65	43.3	
Universitas	172.44	38.6	
Fleurdal	166.31	37.2	
Mangaung	166.24	37.2	
Gardeniapark	163.56	36.6	
Generaal de Wet	151.08	33.8	Significantly Below Average
Wilgehof	148.35	33.2	
Bayswater	142.15	31.8	
Ehrlichpark	135.56	30.3	
Noordhoek	127.44	28.5	
Hilton	118.70	26.6	
Oranjesig	80.52	18.0	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	79.25	17.7	
Hamilton	60.46	13.5	
Heidedal	17.73	4.0	
Lourierpark	7.62	1.7	
Citywide Median	**446.81**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate values = Average real estate values (1998 South African rand) per meter square of property.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate values within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate values for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide median.

Source: Real estate values collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1984 through 1994.

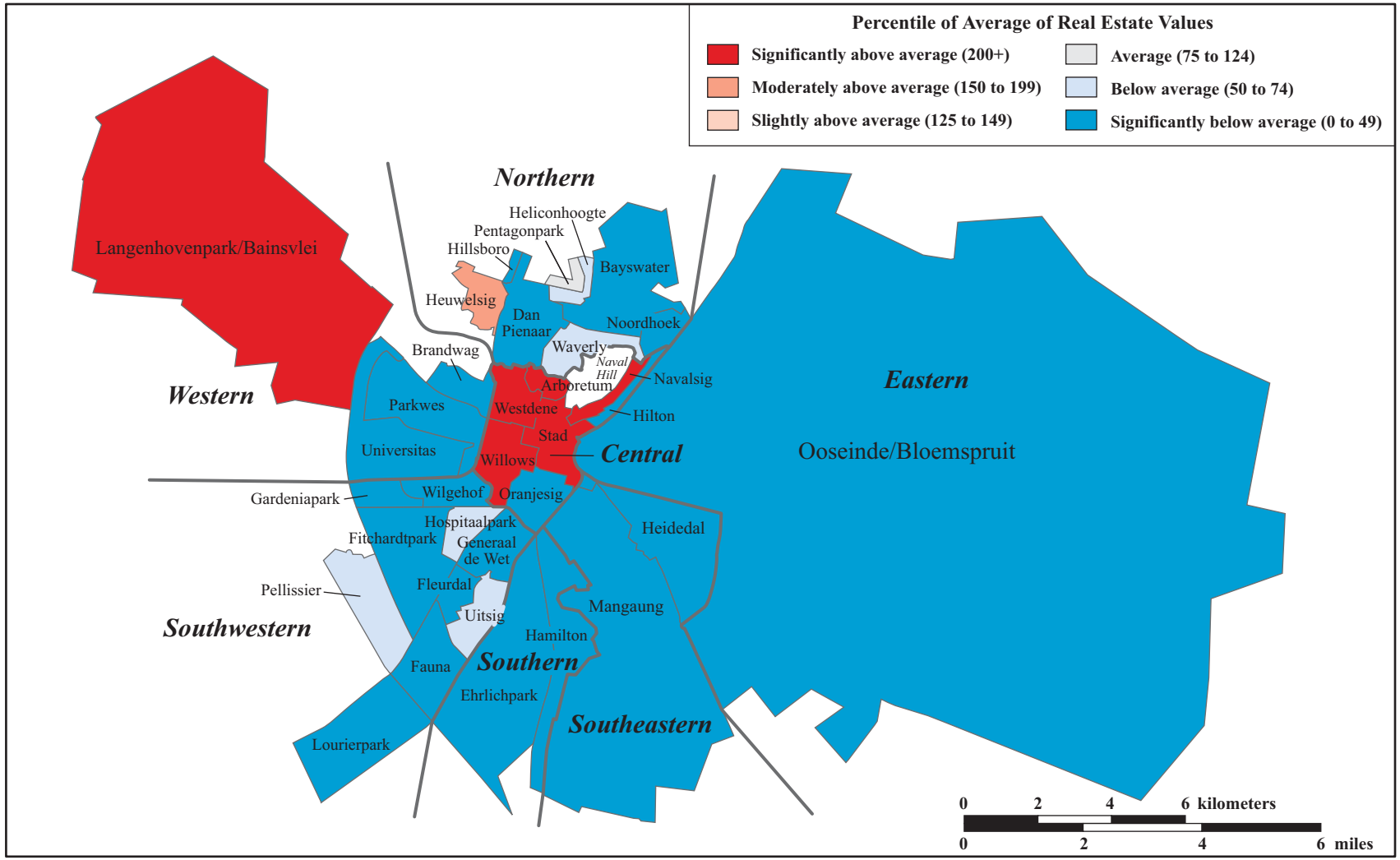

Figure 6-4: Bloemfontein Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

neighborhoods with below average real estate values (Hospitaalpark and Waverly) were adjacent to the peak value Central Subregion. The other three neighborhoods in this category (Pellisier, Uitsig, and Heliconhoogte) were located towards the northern and southwestern edges of the city. Sixty-two percent (21 of 34) of Bloemfontein's neighborhoods had significantly below average real estate values. Three of the four neighborhoods with the lowest real estate values were situated in the Eastern, Southeastern, and Southern subregions, which contained significant amounts of rural and industrial land uses and township residential areas. Conversely, the five neighborhoods with the highest real estate values in the significantly below average category were situated in the wealthier Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions.

Patterns of real estate values in the early post-apartheid period indicate a degree of continuity but also a slight divergence from real estate value patterns observed during the late apartheid period. Bloemfontein continued to experience a polarized pattern of real estate values, with values peaking in a cluster of neighborhoods (Willows, Arboretum, Parkwes, Stad, Pentagonpark, Westdene, Navalsig, and Wilgehof) within or adjacent to the Central Subregion

and in the neighborhood of Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei in the Western Subregion (Table 6-5 and Figure 6-5). However, an additional real estate values peak occurred in the upper-middle class neighborhood of Pentagonpark in the Northern Subregion. Likewise, a majority of neighborhoods (22 of 34) continued to experience significantly below average real estate values, with the very lowest value neighborhoods disproportionately located in the Eastern, Southern, and Southeastern subregions. Among neighborhoods with intermediate real estate values, communities were situated adjacent to peak areas (for example, Heliconhoogte was next to the Pentagonpark peak) as well as towards the edge of the city away from the peaks (such as Heuwelsig and Uitsig in the Northern and Southwestern subregions, respectively).

A more striking pattern emerges when comparing the change in real estate values between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods by examining the arithmetic difference between the rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide medians during each of the two periods

Table 6-5: Bloemfontein Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

Neighborhood	Real Estate Values[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Willows	R1,747.74	345.3	
Arboretum	1,604.21	317.0	
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	1,558.23	307.9	
Parkwes	1,456.33	287.8	Significantly
Stad	1,396.08	275.9	Above Average
Pentagonpark	1,395.74	275.8	
Westdene	1,341.85	265.1	
Navalsig	1,298.07	256.5	
Wilgehof	880.44	174.0	Moderately Above Average
Heuwelsig	417.63	82.5	Average
Heliconhoogte	326.40	64.5	Below Average
Uitsig	277.34	54.8	
Hillsboro	245.94	48.6	
Waverly	240.61	47.5	
Dan Pienaar	231.09	45.7	
Hospitaalpark	212.70	42.0	
Pellissier	206.93	40.9	
Brandwag	204.78	40.5	
Universitas	204.60	40.4	
Fichardtpark	202.43	40.0	
Fauna	179.73	35.5	
Fleurdal	177.73	35.1	
Generaal de Wet	171.80	33.9	Significantly
Gardeniapark	170.72	33.7	Below Average
Ehrlichpark	163.74	32.4	
Oranjesig	157.07	31.0	
Bayswater	147.24	29.1	
Noordhoek	132.49	26.2	
Hamilton	118.25	23.4	
Heidedal	115.44	22.8	
Hilton	105.41	20.8	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	95.93	19.0	
Mangaung	12.31	2.4	
Lourierpark	10.25	2.0	
Citywide Median	**506.10**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Real estate values = Average real estate values (1998 South African rand) per meter square of property.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of average real estate values within a neighborhood relative to the average real estate values for all neighborhoods represented by the citywide median.

Source: Real estate values collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1995 through 1998.

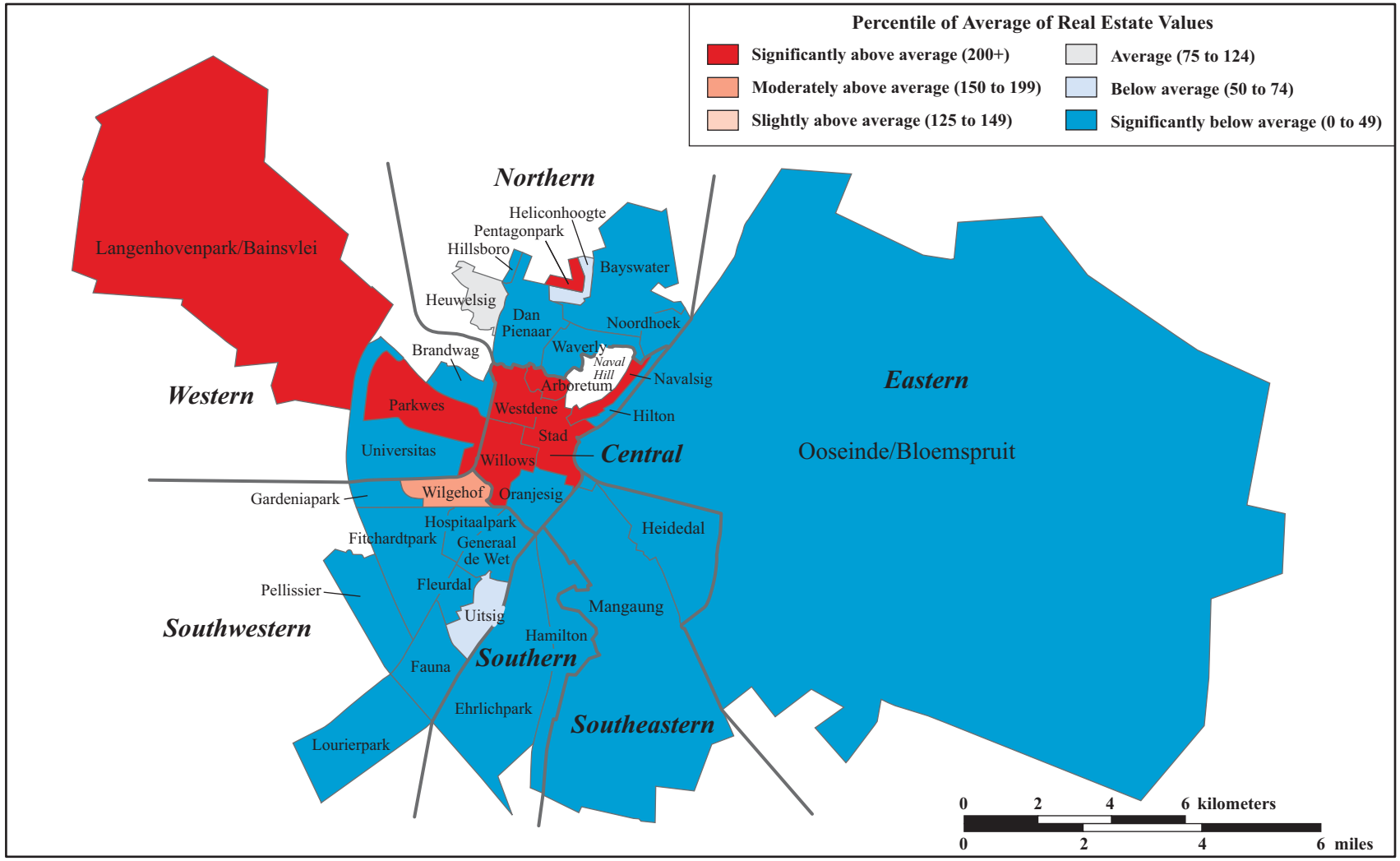

Figure 6-5: Bloemfontein Real Estate Values by Neighborhood, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

(Table 6-6 and Figure 6-6).[8] While the pattern of real estate values shows that most neighborhoods were significantly below average relative to the citywide median in each of the periods (Tables 6-4 and 6-5 and Figures 6-4 and 6-5), the change in the percentile rank for the neighborhoods between the periods shows that over half of the neighborhoods (18 of 34) were stable or experienced only minor changes in real estate values. Conversely, the peak value neighborhoods within the Central Subregion as well as Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei in the Western Subregion, while maintaining the status of peaks within each period, were actually experiencing major declines when comparing the percentile ranks between the periods. Excluding these two historically peak areas, patterns of moderate to major increase and decline in real estate values were occurring in a nonuniform manner. For example, Pentagonpark and Heliconhoogte in the Northern Subregion were emerging as high value areas and were not adjacent to existing peak value areas. On the other hand, the neighborhoods of

8 The arithmetic change in real estate values within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide median in the late apartheid period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide median during the early post-apartheid period. For example, Stad ranked 333.8% above the citywide median in the late apartheid period and 275.9% above the citywide median in the early post-apartheid period for a negative change of 57.9 in percentile rank (a major decline).

Table 6-6: Bloemfontein Change in Real Estate Values, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Real Estate Values[1]	Subregion	Category
Parkwes	240.7	Western	Major Increase
Pentagonpark	178.4	Northern	
Wilgehof	140.8	Southwestern	
Heidedal	18.8	Southeastern	Moderate Increase
Oranjesig	13.0	Central	
Heliconhoogte	11.6	Northern	
Hamilton	9.9	Southern	Minor Increase
Ehrlichpark	2.1	Southern	Stable
Universitas	1.8	Western	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	1.3	Eastern	
Lourierpark	0.3	Southwestern	
Generaal de Wet	0.1	Southwestern	
Hillsboro	-0.1	Northern	
Dan Pienaar	-1.0	Northern	
Fleurdal	-2.1	Southwestern	
Noordhoek	-2.3	Northern	
Waverly	-2.5	Northern	
Bayswater	-2.7	Northern	
Gardeniapark	-2.9	Southwestern	
Fichardtpark	-3.4	Southwestern	
Brandwag	-4.3	Western	
Hilton	-5.8	Central	Minor Decline
Uitsig	-7.1	Southwestern	
Fauna	-7.8	Southwestern	
Hospitaalpark	-16.6	Southwestern	Moderate Decline
Pellissier	-23.1	Southwestern	
Mangaung	-34.8	Southeastern	
Stad	-57.9	Central	Major Decline
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	-62.9	Western	
Navalsig	-65.2	Central	
Arboretum	-69.2	Central	
Heuwelsig	-70.5	Northern	
Westdene	-78.5	Central	
Willows	-97.6	Central	

Note: 1. Change in real estate values = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods which represents the change in average real estate value within a neighborhood between the periods.

Source: Real estate value data collected from Bloemfontein Aktekantoor (Deeds Office) for the years 1984 through 1998.

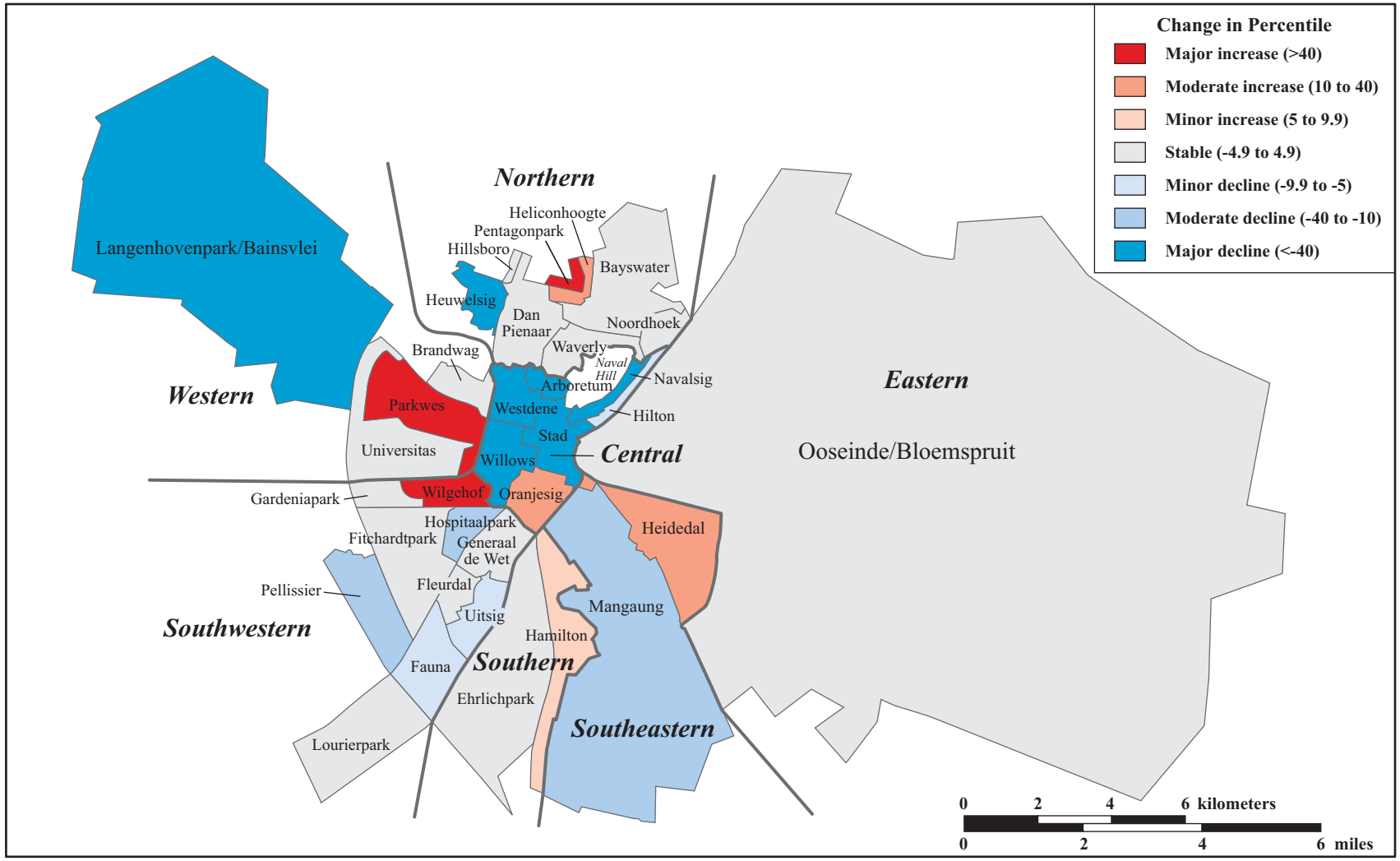

Figure 6-6: Bloemfontein Change in Real Estate Values, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Parkwes, Wilgehof, and Oranjesig (in the Western, Southwestern, and Central subregions, respectively) were also experiencing moderate to major increases and were adjacent to the peak within the Central Subregion. The coloured township neighborhood of Heidedal was also experiencing moderate increases in real estate values. Areas of moderate to major decline outside of the Central Subregion were dispersed and included Heuwelsig in the Northern Subregion, Pellisier and Hospitaalpark in the Southwestern Subregion, and Mangaung in the Southeastern Subregion.

Patterns of Business Locations

During the late apartheid period, business locations were overwhelmingly concentrated in the neighborhoods of Stad, Hilton, and Westdene within or adjacent to the CBD in the Central Subregion. Numbers of businesses in excess of 200 percent of the citywide mean occurred in all three of the neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of Stad having numbers equal to 1,734 percent of the citywide mean (Table 6-7 and Figure 6-7). None of the neighborhoods had moderately above average numbers, and only one neighborhood, Hamilton in the Southern Subregion which was

Table 6-7: Bloemfontein Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

Neighborhood	Number of Businesses[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Stad	1,307.2	1,734.1	Significantly Above Average
Hilton	443.1	587.8	
Westdene	166.8	221.3	
Hamilton	112.9	149.7	Slightly Above Average
Willows	53.4	70.9	Below Average
Oranjesig	49.0	65.0	
Hillsboro	48.2	63.9	
Brandwag	47.9	63.6	
Noordhoek	35.1	46.5	Significantly Below Average
Generaal de Wet	34.1	45.2	
Heuwelsig	28.5	37.8	
Fichardtpark	28.1	37.2	
Universitas	25.4	33.7	
Dan Pienaar	23.6	31.3	
Wilgehof	22.5	29.9	
Waverly	20.4	27.0	
Heidedal	18.2	24.1	
Navalsig	18.1	24.0	
Hospitaalpark	14.8	19.6	
Fleurdal	14.4	19.1	
Bayswater	10.0	13.2	
Arboretum	7.0	9.3	
Mangaung	7.0	9.3	
Pellissier	6.8	9.0	
Parkwes	6.5	8.6	
Fauna	4.6	6.2	
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	2.7	3.5	
Uitsig	2.6	3.4	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	2.2	2.9	
Lourierpark	1.7	2.3	
Ehrlichpark	0.4	0.6	
Heliconhoogte	0.0	0.0	
Gardeniapark	0.0	0.0	
Pentagonpark	0.0	0.0	
Citywide Mean	**75.4**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Number of businesses = Businesses per 1,000 hectares located within a neighborhood.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of the number of businesses located within a neighborhood relative to the average number of businesses located in all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Sources: Business location data collected from Telkom and Poskantoor Telefongids (1983 and 1988).

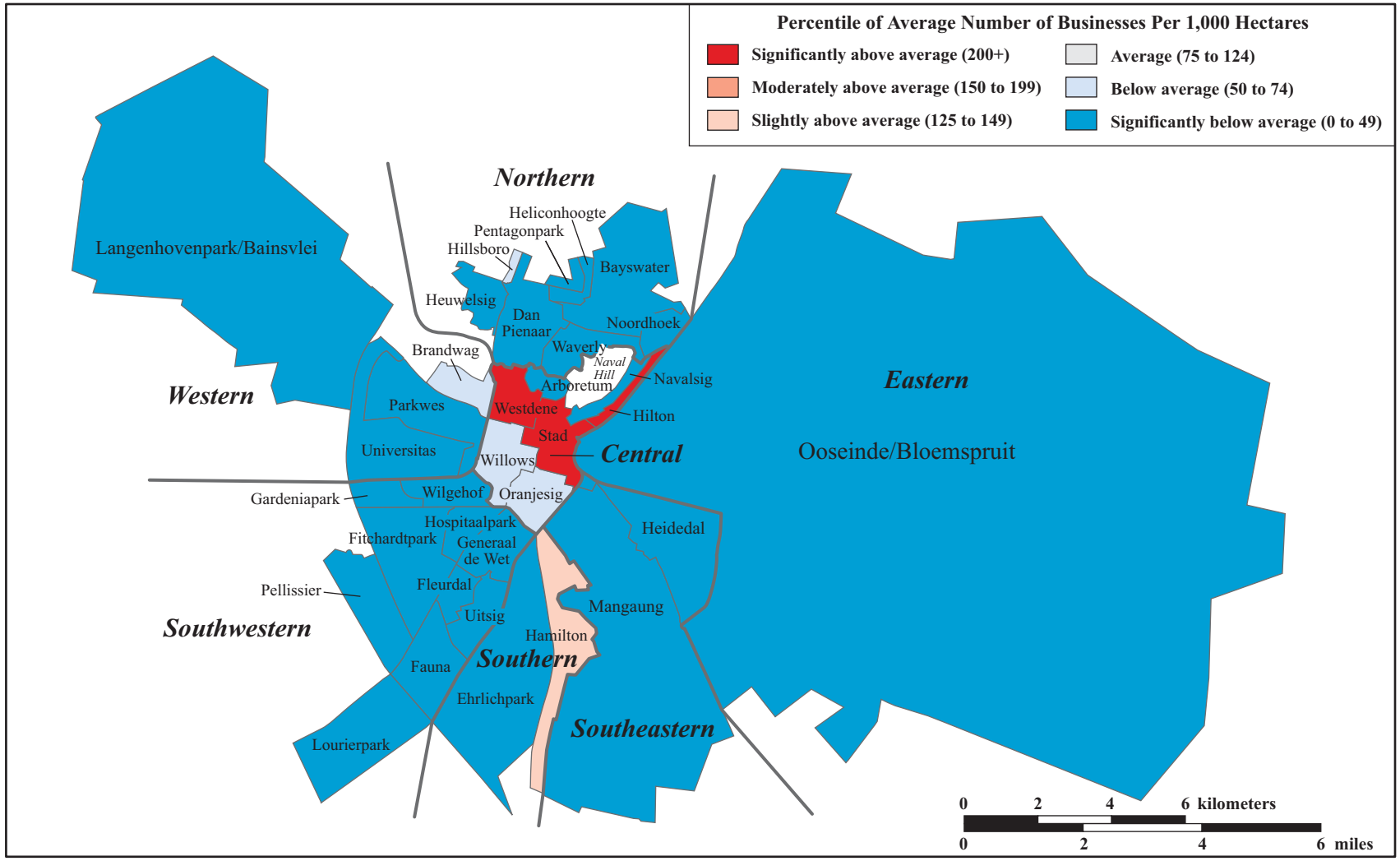

Figure 6-7: Bloemfontein Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Late Apartheid Period (1984-1994)

dominated by industrial land uses, had slightly above average numbers of businesses. Four neighborhoods, Willows and Oranjesig in the Central Subregion, Hillsboro in the Northern Subregion, and Brandwag in the Western Subregion, had below average numbers of businesses. The remainder of the city, which included 89 percent (24 of 27) of the neighborhoods located outside the Central Subregion, had significantly below average levels of business activity. Of those neighborhoods, four (Pentagonpark and Heliconhoogte in the Northern Subregion, Gardeniapark in the Southwestern Subregion, and Ehrlichpark in the Southern Subregion) contained almost no businesses, ranging from 0.0 to 0.6 percent of the citywide mean number of businesses.

Patterns of business location in the early post-apartheid period exhibited a degree of continuity but also notable change when compared to the patterns of business location from the late apartheid period. Businesses continued to be primarily clustered in the neighborhoods of Stad, Hilton, and Westdene within the Central Subregion (Table 6-8 and Figure 6-8). During this period, numbers of businesses in excess of 450 percent of the citywide mean occurred in all four of the neighborhoods, with the peak neighborhood of Stad having numbers equal to 1,023 percent

Table 6-8: Bloemfontein Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

Neighborhood	Number of Businesses[1]	Percentage[2]	Category
Stad	4,417.0	1,022.7	Significantly Above Average
Hilton	2,363.3	547.2	
Westdene	1,945.9	450.5	
Brandwag	547.9	126.9	Slightly Above Average
Hillsboro	481.9	111.6	Average
Willows	472.7	109.4	
Fleurdal	383.7	88.8	
Hamilton	372.7	86.3	
Arboretum	348.9	80.8	
Heuwelsig	347.9	80.6	
Oranjesig	318.7	73.8	Below Average
Heliconhoogte	304.1	70.4	
Dan Pienaar	278.0	64.4	
Universitas	272.2	63.0	
Fichardtpark	244.3	56.6	
Hospitaalpark	184.6	42.8	Significantly Below Average
Navalsig	180.6	41.8	
Pellissier	162.9	37.7	
Bayswater	156.9	36.3	
Waverly	127.2	29.5	
Fauna	92.9	21.5	
Noordhoek	87.6	20.3	
Parkwes	86.7	20.1	
Generaal de Wet	85.2	19.7	
Wilgehof	84.4	19.5	
Gardeniapark	83.9	19.4	
Uitsig	77.0	17.8	
Heidedal	74.4	17.2	
Mangaung	31.2	7.2	
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	27.8	6.4	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	20.6	4.8	
Ehrlichpark	13.3	3.1	
Lourierpark	8.5	2.0	
Pentagonpark	0.0	0.0	
Citywide Mean	**431.9**	**100.0**	

Notes: 1. Numbers of businesses = Businesses per 1,000 hectares located within a neighborhood.
2. Percentage = A percentile rank of the number of businesses located within a neighborhood relative to the average number of businesses located in all neighborhoods represented by the citywide mean.

Source: Business location data collected from Telkom Telefongids (1998).

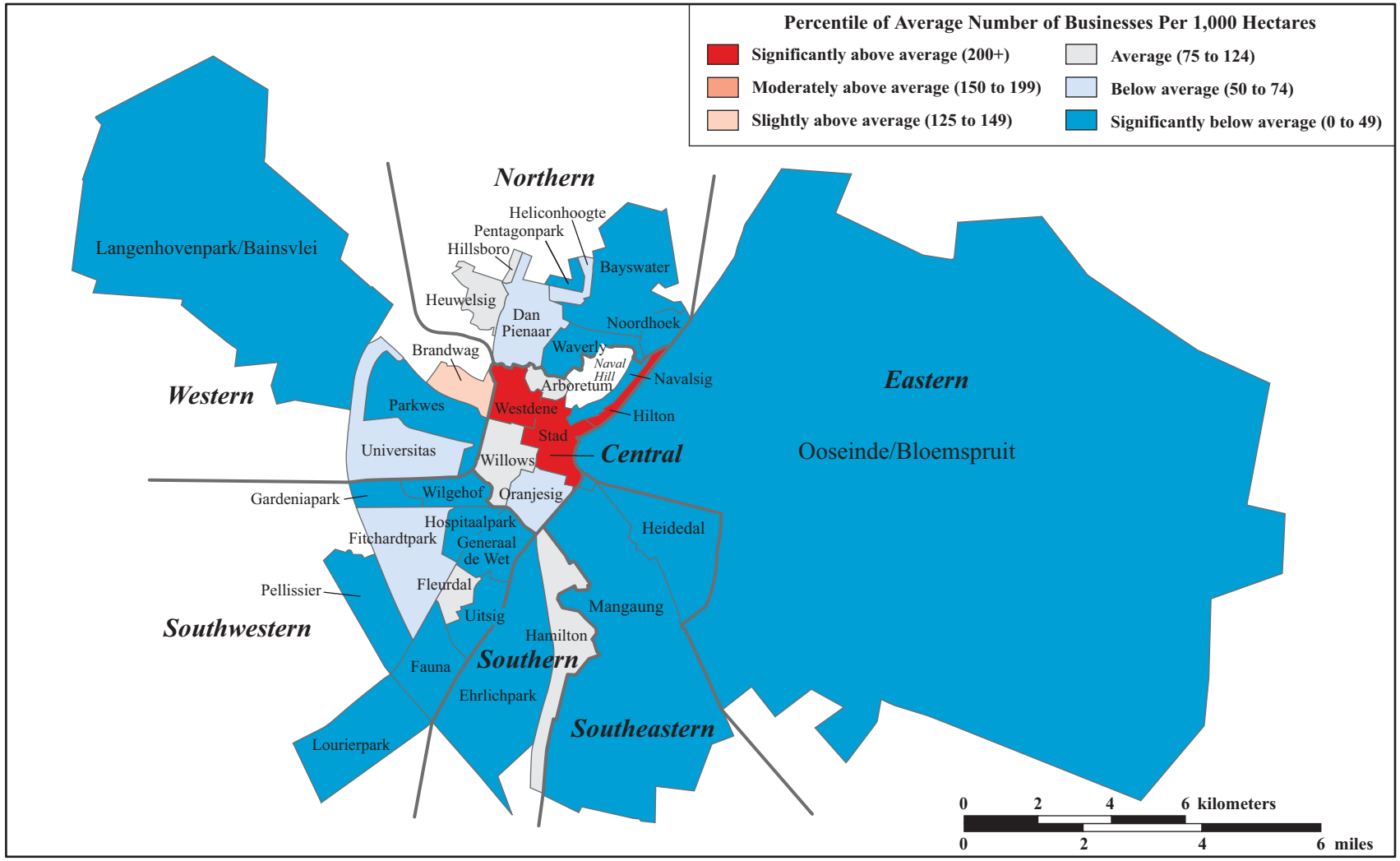

Figure 6-8: Bloemfontein Businesses Per 1,000 Hectares of Neighborhood Area, Early Post-Apartheid Period (1995-1998)

of the citywide mean. Likewise, a majority, though much smaller percentage (19 of 34, or 56 percent), of Bloemfontein's neighborhoods continued to have significantly below average numbers of businesses. However, the number of neighborhoods with intermediate numbers of businesses increased substantially with growth primarily occurring in areas within the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions. Brandwag in the Western Subregion had slightly above average numbers of businesses, while neighborhoods with average or below average numbers included Hillsboro, Heuwelsig, Heliconhoogte, and Dan Pienaar in the Northern Subregion, Willows, Arboretum, and Oranjesig in the Central Subregion, Fleurdal and Fichardtpark in the Southwestern Subregion, Hamilton in the Southern Subregion, and Universitas in the Western Subregion.

Further examination of patterns of business location was accomplished by calculating the arithmetic difference between the rank of each neighborhood relative to the citywide means during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods. The results of this comparison highlight the growth in business activity that occurred in neighborhoods to the north, west, and southwest of the

Central Subregion between the two periods (Table 6-9 and Figure 6-9).[9] For instance, 68 percent (15 of 22) of neighborhoods in the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions experienced moderate to major increases in numbers of businesses between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods. Additionally, the three westernmost neighborhoods in the Central Subregion (Arboretum, Westdene, and Willows), which were adjacent to neighborhoods experiencing moderate or major increases in the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions, all experienced moderate to major increases in numbers of businesses. Conversely, the neighborhoods of Stad and Hilton in the easternmost portion of the Central Subregion, while experiencing significantly above average numbers during each period, were actually undergoing major declines between the two periods. Only 14 percent (three of 22) of neighborhoods in the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions experienced moderate declines in numbers of businesses. All of the neighborhoods in the Southern,

9 The arithmetic change in numbers of businesses within each neighborhood was calculated by subtracting the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean in the late apartheid period from the percentile rank of the neighborhood relative to the citywide mean during the early post-apartheid period. For example, Stad ranked 1,734.1% above the citywide mean in the late apartheid period and 1,022.7% in the early post-apartheid period for a negative change of 711.4 in percentile rank (a major decline).

Table 6-9: Bloemfontein Change in Business Activity, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Neighborhood	Change in Business Activity[1]	Subregion	Category
Westdene	229.2	Central	
Arboretum	71.5	Central	
Heliconhoogte	70.4	Northern	
Fleurdal	69.7	Southwestern	Major Increase
Brandwag	63.3	Western	
Hillsboro	47.7	Northern	
Heuwelsig	42.8	Northern	
Willows	38.5	Central	
Dan Pienaar	33.1	Northern	
Universitas	29.3	Western	
Pellissier	28.7	Southwestern	
Hospitaalpark	23.2	Southwestern	
Bayswater	23.1	Northern	Moderate
Gardeniapark	19.4	Southwestern	Increase
Fitchardtpark	19.4	Southwestern	
Navalsig	17.8	Central	
Fauna	15.3	Southwestern	
Uitsig	14.4	Southwestern	
Parkwes	11.5	Western	
Oranjesig	8.8	Central	Minor Increase
Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei	2.9	Western	
Ehrlichpark	2.5	Southern	
Waverly	2.5	Northern	
Ooseinde/Bloemspruit	1.9	Eastern	Stable
Pentagonpark	0.0	Northern	
Lourierpark	-0.3	Southwestern	
Mangaung	-2.1	Southeastern	
Heidedal	-6.9	Southeastern	Minor Decline
Wilgehof	-10.4	Southwestern	Moderate Decline
Generaal de Wet	-25.5	Southwestern	
Noordhoek	-26.2	Northern	
Hilton	-40.6	Central	
Hamilton	-63.4	Southern	Major Decline
Stad	-711.4	Central	

Note: 1. Change in business activity = Arithmetic difference in percentile rankings from late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods which represent the change in the number of businesses located within a neighborhood between the periods.

Sources: Business location data collected from Telkom and Poskantoor Telefongids (1983, 1988, 1998).

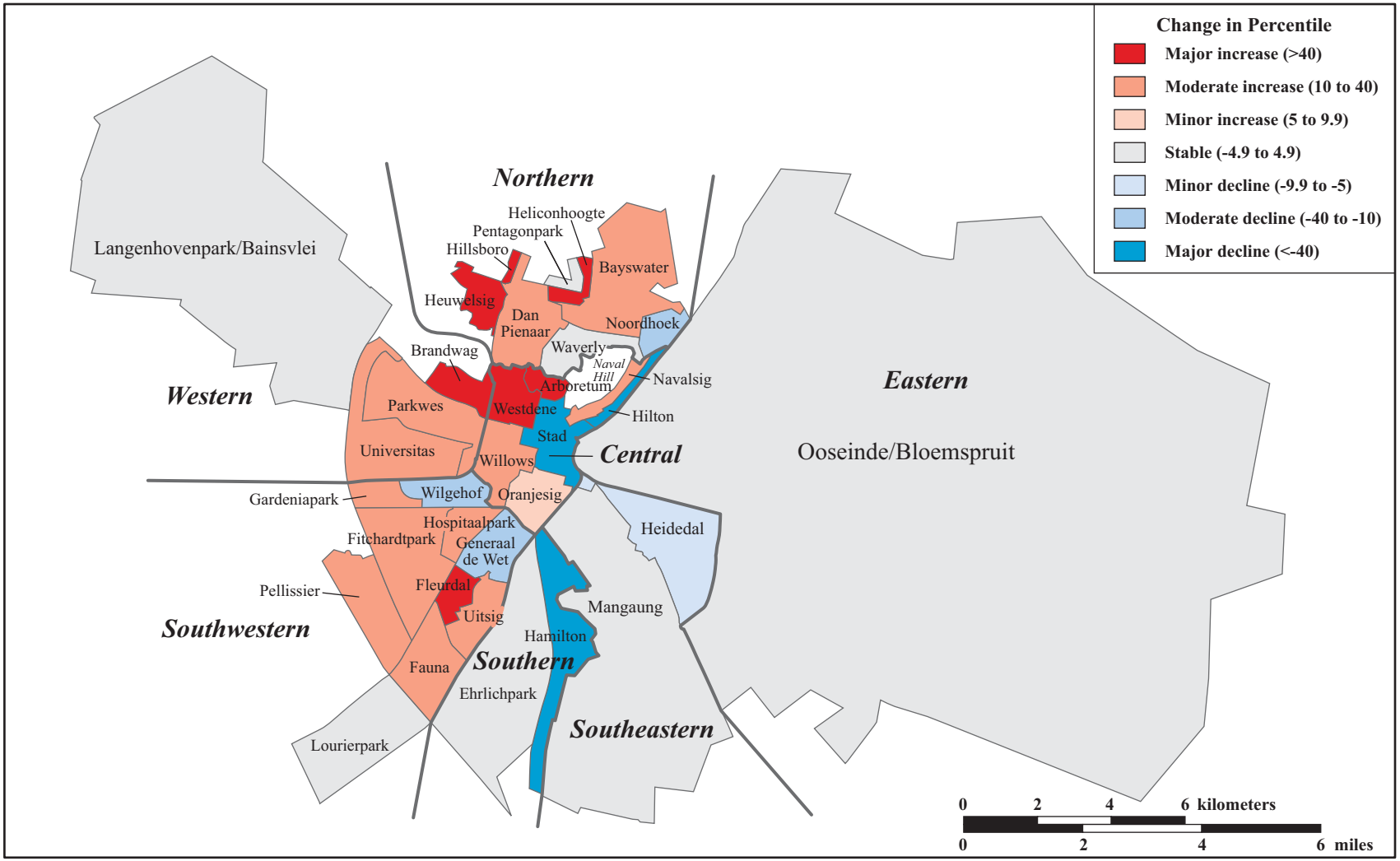

Figure 6-9: Bloemfontein Change in Business Activity, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Southeastern, and Eastern subregions experienced stability or declines in numbers of businesses.

Similarities and Differences Among Patterns

During the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, numerous similarities were observed among patterns of real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses, including:

1. Peaks for real estate activity, real estate values, and number of businesses existed within or adjacent to the CBD in the Central Subregion. There were also peaks for real estate values in Langenhovenpark/Bainsvlei in the Western Subregion and Pentagonpark in the Northern Subregion due to the construction of large quantities of wealthy to upper-middle class housing in these previously rural and newly developing neighborhoods.

2. Neighborhoods in the Southeastern and Eastern subregions that historically housed the overwhelming majority of Bloemfontein's black and coloured populations generally experienced significantly less real estate activity, lower real estate values, and fewer businesses than the citywide average.

3. Intermediate levels of real estate activity, real estate values, and number of businesses disproportionately occurred in neighborhoods within the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions away from the areas housing working-class populations and the industrial areas in the south, southeast, and east.

4. In terms of change between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, all neighborhoods experiencing major increases in real estate activity, real estate values, and numbers of businesses were

> located in the Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions (areas that historically contained middle-class and wealthy populations). Conversely, a disproportionate share of neighborhoods with declining real estate activity, real estate values, and numbers of businesses were situated within the Central, Southern, Southeastern, and Eastern subregions (areas that historically housed working-class and poor populations).

In addition to the various similarities among the patterns, differences also existed, particularly in terms of the geographic manner in which declines in real estate activity, real estate values, and numbers of businesses occurred when proceeding away from the peak cluster in the Central Subregion. For instance, patterns of real estate activity and locations of businesses declined in a gradual manner when proceeding north, west, and southwest, away from the Central Subregion, while a dramatic decline occurred when proceeding to the east and southeast. Conversely, patterns of real estate values declined in a nonuniform manner when proceeding away from the Central Subregion, resulting in multiple peaks spread among the Central, Northern, Western, and Southwestern subregions.

Correlates to Patterns of Real Estate and Business Change

The patterns of real estate activity, real estate values, and business locations indicate that Bloemfontein in the 1980s and 1990s was a city in flux. On the one hand, the city's real estate patterns continued to follow apartheid-era norms. The geographic landscape of Bloemfontein was dominated by the CBD in the Central Subregion, which included not only the vast majority of the city's businesses but was also the location of peak real estate values and activity. These patterns fostered contact between segments of Bloemfontein's population within the CBD and helped to minimize contact elsewhere in the city. On the other hand, the observed patterns of change in locations of businesses, real estate values, and real estate activity indicate Bloemfontein was beginning to suburbanize, a process that has the potential over the next few years to make the city's geographic landscape more like Harris and Ullman's (1959) multiple nuclei model (Figure 5-10) than Davies' (1981) model apartheid city (Figure 1-4).

The fact that suburbanization was occurring in Bloemfontein during the 1980s and 1990s is not surprising. In the decades towards the end of the 20th century, suburbanization swept across South Africa as automobiles

increasingly became the transport of choice and government programs to construct freeways restructured the urban fabric of the country's cities. However, was the suburbanization that occurred in Bloemfontein also shaped by attitudes or opportunities that resulted from successes of the anti-apartheid movement during the 1980s and 1990s? In South Africa, the 1990s brought enfranchisement to the country's black population for the first time in history. A new constitution that outlawed discrimination in employment and schooling was drafted. The Group Areas Act and pass laws that had controlled where blacks were allowed to live and travel were swept away. These changes opened the possibility for the dispersion of the black population away from historically black neighborhoods to other areas of the city due to new opportunities available to live in neighborhoods from which blacks were once barred. Conversely, for some whites, these changes heightened fears of living in proximity to large black populations, which may have led whites to relocate to different areas in an effort to maintain the low frequency of their residential interactions with blacks. Such changes also had the potential to impact businesses by increasing or decreasing customer bases and changing public perceptions about

neighborhoods in which businesses were located.

If the suburbanization of Bloemfontein was affected by the new opportunities presented by the successes of the anti-apartheid movement, then it is likely that Bloemfontein's patterns of change in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses would correlate with the city's racial residential patterns. To determine if such correlations existed, Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated between the patterns of change in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses that occurred in Bloemfontein between the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods and 14 (eight racial and six non-racial) socioeconomic variables (Table 6-10). The data for the socioeconomic variables were drawn from the 1991 South African Census.

Real Estate Activity Correlates

None of the 14 socioeconomic variables correlated in a statistically significant manner at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) with Bloemfontein's changing patterns of real estate activity during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods (Table 6-11). Coefficients resulting from correlations between Bloemfontein's changing patterns

Table 6-10: Socioeconomic Variables Used in the Correlation Analysis for Bloemfontein

Variable Name	Category
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	Racial
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is White	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	Non-racial
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood[1]	

Note: 1. These variables were derived by filtering census data through a gravity model to indicate not only the value of the socioeconomic variable within a particular neighborhood but also the status of that variable in areas outside but in proximity to the neighborhood.

The gravity model used in the calculations was:

$$I_{ij} = \sum_{j=1}^{n} P_j / d^b_{ij}$$

where I_{ij} = influence of socioeconomic variable in all neighborhoods within the study area on neighborhood i.
P_j = the value of the socioeconomic variable at places j.
d_{ij} = distance separating places i and j
b = frictional effect of distance; in this study, b=2 meaning that the influence of place j on place i is inversely related to the square of the distance.

Source: Data used for the socioeconomic variables were drawn directly or derived from the 1991 South African Census.

Table 6-11: Bloemfontein Correlates to Change in Real Estate Activity, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is White	0.151	Racial	Very Weak
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	0.098	Racial	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.092	Non-racial	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	0.087	Non-racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.081	Racial	
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.071	Racial	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	-0.049	Racial	No Correlation
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.041	Racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.023	Non-racial	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	0.015	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	-0.013	Racial	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.012	Racial	
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.005	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	0.001	Non-racial	

Source: Real estate activity data was collected from Bloemfontein Deeds Office (Aktekantoor). Independent variable data was collected from Central Statistical Service (aka Stats SA), 1991 Census of Population.

of real estate activity and the 14 socioeconomic variables ranged from very weak (0.151) to no correlation (0.001). The mean of the absolute values of the coefficients indicated no correlation (0.053). For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from very weak (0.151) to no correlation (0.012), while the coefficients for the non-racial variables also ranged from very weak (0.092) to no correlation (0.001). The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was very weak (0.065), while the mean for the non-racial variables was no correlation (0.037).

Real Estate Value Correlates

As with real estate activity, none of the 14 socioeconomic variables correlated in a statistically significant manner at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) with Bloemfontein's changing patterns of real estate values during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods (Table 6-12). Coefficients resulting from correlations between Bloemfontein's changing patterns of real estate values and the 14 socioeconomic variables ranged from very weak (-0.146) to no correlation (0.056). The mean of the absolute values of the coefficients was very weak (0.100).

Table 6-12: Bloemfontein Correlates to Change in Real Estate Values, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	-0.146	Racial	Very Weak
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.145	Racial	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	-0.131	Non-racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.112	Racial	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	-0.104	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.103	Non-racial	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.101	Racial	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	-0.100	Racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.099	Non-racial	
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	-0.093	Racial	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is White	0.081	Racial	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.068	Non-racial	
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.059	Racial	No Correlation
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	0.056	Non-racial	

Source: Real estate value data was collected from Bloemfontein Deeds Office (Aktekantoor). Independent variable data was collected from Central Statistical Service (aka Stats SA), 1991 Census of Population.

For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from very weak (-0.146) to no correlation (-0.059), while the coefficients for the non-racial variables also ranged from very weak (-0.131) to no correlation (0.056). The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was very weak (0.105), and the mean for the non-racial variables was very weak (0.096).

Locations of Businesses Correlates

As with real estate activity and real estate values, none of the 14 socioeconomic variables correlated in a statistically significant manner at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) with Bloemfontein's changing patterns of locations of businesses during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods (Table 6-13). Coefficients resulting from correlations between Bloemfontein's changing patterns of locations of businesses and the 14 socioeconomic variables ranged from very weak (-0.167) to no correlation (-0.001). The mean of the absolute values of the coefficients indicated no correlation (0.060). For comparison, the strength of the coefficients for the racial variables ranged from weak (0.167) to no correlation (-0.001), while the coefficients for the non-racial

Table 6-13: Bloemfontein Correlates to Change in Business Locations, Late Apartheid (1984-1994) to Early Post-Apartheid (1995-1998) Periods

Independent Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Variable Type	Strength of Correlation
Size of White Population in Neighborhood	-0.167	Racial	Very Weak
Size of White Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.161	Racial	
Per Capita Income in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.106	Non-racial	
Per Capita Income in Neighborhood	0.097	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in Neighborhood	-0.092	Non-racial	
Median Level of Educational Attainment in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.048	Non-racial	No Correlation
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is Black	0.042	Racial	
Size of Total Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.034	Non-racial	
Size of Total Population in Neighborhood	-0.023	Non-racial	
Percent of Neighborhood Population that is White	-0.022	Racial	
Percent of Citywide Black Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	0.022	Racial	
Percent of Citywide White Population in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.018	Racial	
Size of Black Population in and in Proximity to Neighborhood	-0.012	Racial	
Size of Black Population in Neighborhood	-0.001	Racial	

Source: Business location data was collected from the South African Department of Post and Telecommunications and Telkom directories. Independent variable data was collected from Central Statistical Service (aka Stats SA), 1991 Census of Population.

variables ranged from moderately weak (0.106) to no correlation (-0.023). While the strongest correlating variables to changes in locations of businesses were racial, collectively the non-racial variables had a stronger average coefficient than the racial variables. The mean of the absolute values of the racial variables was no correlation (0.056), while the mean for the non-racial variables was very weak (0.067).

Conclusions of the Correlation Analyses

None of the correlations completed for this chapter produced statistically significant results. While racial variables generally had stronger coefficients than non-racial variables, all of the coefficients ranged from very weak to no correlation. Based on these results, is there reason to believe that the attitudes and opportunities which resulted from the successes of the anti-apartheid movement were shaping the patterns of suburbanization that were transforming Bloemfontein during the 1980s and 1990s? The answer appears to be "no." Race may have played a role in landscape change in South Africa during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, but the correlations were not strong enough to determine the cause

of Bloemfontein's suburbanization based on the 14 variables examined.

Section 4

Conclusions

Chapter 7: Perceptions Versus Reality

> Anne Paton: "I am leaving South Africa. I have lived here for 35 years, and I shall leave with anguish. My home and my friends are here, but I am terrified. I know I shall be in trouble for saying so, because I am the widow of Alan Paton" (*The (Johannesburg) Sunday Independent*, November 29, 1998).
>
> Ernie Els: "Crime is ruining the country [South Africa] I love. People have had about as much of it as they can take, and so have I" (*The (Johannesburg) Sunday Times*, August 16, 1998).

In the late 1990s, comments such as these were increasingly heard among some segments of South Africa's population. While both of these statements relate to crime, they are but a single class within a broader framework of perceptions many South Africans held about the state of their country during the early post-apartheid period. This chapter describes three such classes of perceptions (namely, concerns about: (1) safety, (2) decreasing economic opportunities and political control, and (3) school desegregation) that were held by many South Africans during the early post-apartheid period and the impact those perceptions had on the country's intra-urban

landscapes during the period. In particular, did population movements (residential and business) occur within cities in an attempt to alleviate fears? In addition, a review of literature will be made to determine if these perceptions were also widely held in the American South in the early post-segregation period, and if so, what, if any, intra-urban landscape impacts they made there.

Perceptions in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Concern about personal safety and rising crime rates was a consistent theme expressed by South Africans of all races during the early post-apartheid period. For instance, an October 21, 1998 letter to the editor of *The (Johannesburg) Star* stated:

> I am an Asian male who decided to seek greener pastures abroad. I have been burgled three times in four years (lots of financial losses as I could not afford the exorbitant insurance premiums) and mugged once in downtown Johannesburg. In that period, three people that I knew were murdered in car-jackings. Add to this the number of other burglaries, muggings, rapes, etc., of which I have read, left me living in fear.

Likewise, an October 31, 1998 article in *The (Johannesburg)*

Star on crime in Yeoville, a traditionally middle-class neighborhood situated northeast of Johannesburg's central business district noted:

> [Yeoville] has become synonymous with tawdriness and crime, which many blame on the influx of what is euphemistically known as the "Hillbrow and Berea element." Petty crime, such as cellphone theft, house and vehicle break-ins, drug dealing and prostitution, has become rife, forcing out businesses and residents who remember a bygone era of cafes and bookshops.

These fears were not unfounded. During the late 1990s, statistics indicate that 67 people were murdered each day in South Africa, 683 homes burgled every night, and roughly 13,000 drivers were hijacked each year (Schuler 1998). The murder rate in 1999 was 55 per 100,000 population, as compared to the world average of five murders per 100,000 and the United States rate of six per 100,000. Forty-nine-thousand cases of rape were reported in 1998 or approximately one every ten minutes. Given these statistics, it is not surprising that crime was on the minds of many South Africans during the early post-apartheid period. While many have rightly pointed out that crime was also a problem during the late apartheid period, no one disagrees that South Africa's crime rate exploded

after 1994 (Van Rooyen 2000: 72-76). Various reasons have been provided for the explosion in crime, but some of the more commonly cited causes include frustration by historically disadvantaged populations with their rate of economic upliftment, an inability of the government to effectively allocate funds to allow for adequate policing of the country while simultaneously emplacing economic and service improvements for historically disadvantaged populations, and a carryover of organized crime that developed during the apartheid era to fund the white minority regime during the period of international economic and political sanctions.

The potential for concerns about crime to precipitate urban residential population shifts were illustrated in an article from November 6, 1998 in *The (Johannesburg) Star* entitled "Visit expo and see how they live in Centurian." Centurian was an upper-middle class neighborhood located between Johannesburg and Pretoria. In the article, Karel Minnie, Centurian's mayor, was quoted as saying: "developments such as Cornwall Hill -- an upmarket security village [and site of the expo] -- were increasingly proving to be viable alternatives as homes for people who worked in Johannesburg," as people moved to such gated communities to

escape crime. The potential for increasing concerns about crime to precipitate intra-urban population movements was not unique to Johannesburg nor limited to residential areas. An August 14, 1998 article in *The Eastern Province (Port Elizabeth) Herald* noted:

> Newton Park is emerging as Port Elizabeth's "new CBD" says Mike Bosch of Era Pudneys. "The Newton Park node is continuing to grow. People want to be there. What's scary is that retailers and companies are leaving Central, the CBD, and North End as soon as their leases expire -- some before then," he told the Herald. "If you look at the big office parks and banks in the area you will see that the corporates have already moved out."

In Bloemfontein, similar patterns of commercial landscape change occurred. For instance, between 1998 and 2005, all of the city's major department stores (Edgars, Truworths, Woolworths, and Checkers) opened branches in the city's wealthy western suburbs and several closed their CBD stores.

While fears about rising crime were shared among all races, concerns about a loss of political control and economic opportunities in the early post-apartheid period were concentrated among the white, coloured, and Asian communities. South Africa's 1994 election swept from power the National Party which had ruled the country since 1948

and replaced it with the African National Congress (ANC). Supported primarily by the country's newly enfranchised black majority, the ANC has worked to uplift economically and strengthen its constituency. Much as the National Party had instituted job set-asides and apartheid controls to further the economic and political interests of its white Afrikaner constituency, the ANC, since 1994, has sought to redress past discrimination through affirmative action, black economic empowerment, and redelineating the political geographic landscape to equalize tax bases and facilitate the provision of services to historically disadvantaged populations, mostly benefiting the majority black population. Collectively, such changes have enabled South Africa's black majority to consolidate political control and grow the black middle class. For instance, the share of total national income earned by blacks increased from 41 percent in 1991 to 48 percent in 1996. Likewise, more blacks than whites were in the top 20 percent income bracket in South Africa's 12 largest cities by 1996 (1.85 million blacks versus 1.65 million whites) (Van Rooyen 2000: 108-112).

The ANC's economic and political restructuring has led some in South Africa's white, coloured, and Asian

communities to fear that the country's black majority wishes to exclude them from the political and economic processes, while others recognize that the ANC programs are important but desire that they be implemented in a more gradual manner. Fueling fears about exclusion are commentators such as Malegupuru Makgoba, a professor at the University of Witswaterand, who, in an October 16, 1998 article entitled "Do we need white opposition?" stated "for South Africa to evolve into a mature democracy the electorate must remove all white political parties" (*The (Johannesburg) Star*, October 16, 1998). Likewise, Tony Leon, head of the Democratic Alliance, noted that Trevor Manuel, a coloured and South Africa's highly-regarded finance minister, deserved to be a contender in the presidential succession debates but that this would not occur because Mr. Manuel was viewed by ANC leadership as "not black enough" to succeed President Thabo Mbeki (*Cape Argus*, March 26, 2005).

Concerns about decreasing economic opportunities were also common in the white community during the early post apartheid period. Schuler (1998) noted that white "university graduates fear their careers will stagnate under tough new quota laws that favor blacks." Likewise,

many whites who were already in the workforce feared that affirmative action programs might cause them to be retrenched. For instance, in 1999, Minister of Security, Steve Tswete, indicated that it had become a priority to reduce the percentage of white management in the South African Police Service from 72 percent to 50 percent in less than a year (Van Rooyen 2000: 112).

Fears about economic dislocation also were present in South Africa's coloured and Asian communities. For instance, in an article entitled, "Is there place for Indians in new SA?", Fatima Meer noted "Black Economic Empowerment discriminates against non-Africans ... all other things being equal, if there is an Indian candidate and an African candidate for a job or a seat in university, even if the Indian is better qualified, the African candidate is chosen" (*Independent Online,* April 25, 2004). In the same article, Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the Minority Front Party, noted "Indians were divided during apartheid, but now we are united because of the unfair application of affirmative action."

In the early post-apartheid period, concerns about quality of schooling were another issue causing angst in South Africa. The ANC government managed to alienate South

Africans of all races while attempting to redress the apartheid-era segregated school system. Complaints about low educational standards, poorly maintained buildings, badly trained teachers, and lack of textbooks and other supplies were common during the late 1990s. For instance, in an article published on August 26, 1999 by *Independent Online*, it was noted that the number of students passing university entrance exams (matriculation exams) dropped by 21 percent between 1994 and 1998.

For South Africans with the financial ability, many began to pull their children from the public school system to place them in private schools. An article from August 11, 1998 published in *The (Johannesburg) Star* noted:

> parents who have lost faith in the South African education system are creating what education officials are calling a new-style "chicken run." Just as thousands of South Africans fled the country prior to the 1994 national election, these citizens are fleeing what they consider to be "the unknown" fate of South Africa's education system.

Conversely, administrators and parents of children at some of South Africa's best public schools used enrollment policies to facilitate selective rather than full integration to maintain separate and unequal schooling.

This action was possible in South Africa due to three factors:

1. In South Africa, admission to public schools could be selective and the ability to enroll in a school was not normally constrained by place of residence. In contrast, in the United States, a child's residential location usually dictates where he or she is enrolled in school.

2. Tuition and fees were common in South Africa's better public schools. In contrast, in the United States, public education, regardless of a school's reputation, is normally provided with a few minor fees but without tuition.

3. Instruction in South African schools occurred in several languages, English and Afrikaans being the most common. As a result, the language of instruction played a role in the composition of the student body. For example, non-Afrikaans speakers were not likely to apply to schools in which Afrikaans was the predominant language of instruction.

Together, these factors enabled South Africa's best schools to use tuition, language of instruction, and selective admissions to exclude or dissuade those students from enrolling who were perceived as undesirable.

In recent years, South Africa's national and provincial governments have taken actions to speed integration and improve the quality of education for the country's black majority. Calls to end school tuition became more common in the mid-1990s. In 1998, the South

African government enacted policies that shifted government funding to schools with large numbers of pupils from poor families and away from schools with wealthier students (*The (Johannesburg) Star,* October 15, 1998). These actions, along with scholarships, resulted in notable school desegregation in the late 1990s.

Probable Impact of Perceptions on Bloemfontein

Given that Bloemfontein was an exemplar of a typical South African city during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods, it is likely that its population shared the perceptions which academic research has indicated were present in other parts of South Africa. However, did these perceptions shape Bloemfontein's patterns of intra-urban change during the late apartheid and early post-apartheid periods? Results from Chapter Six indicate that opportunities and attitudes which resulted from successes of the anti-apartheid movement probably did not shape Bloemfontein's changes in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses. Hence, it is likely that the concerns most directly related to anti-apartheid successes (namely, affirmative action, decreased political control and economic opportunities of minority

populations, and school desegregation), while of importance to large segments of Bloemfontein's population, probably did not significantly impact the city's patterns of intra-urban population shifts and commercial landscape change. This conclusion makes logical sense given that affirmative action, loss of political control, and declining economic opportunities are issues that impact South Africa's white, coloured, and Asian populations regardless of where they choose to live and therefore would not precipitate intra-urban movement away from one neighborhood towards another. Similarly, South Africa's legacy of not having admission to public schools be linked to place of residence negates the need for South Africans to choose their place of residence to ensure that their children are enrolled in a desirable school. However, did concerns about increasing crime, a critical issue that arose in the early post-apartheid period but which was not directly linked to anti-apartheid successes, impact Bloemfontein's patterns of change in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses (proxies for population shifts and changes in the commercial landscape)? Based on country-level (macro-scale) qualitative evidence, that would appear to be likely, but it is impossible to prove quantitatively at the

city level (micro-scale). Throughout much of the early post-apartheid period, the Government of South Africa released crime statistics in only a piecemeal manner on a sporadic basis. Accused by the political opposition of withholding the data to cover up the severity of the crime wave that was sweeping the country, in recent years the South African Police Service has begun to release annual crime data per police station. However, the precinct boundaries for the police districts differ substantially from the neighborhood boundaries used by Statistics South Africa for the South African Census and which were used for the real estate and business location data for this project, making it difficult to draw correlations between the crime and socioeconomic data.

Perceptions in Post-Segregation American South

Academic research indicates that each of the perceptions just described as occurring in South Africa during the early post-apartheid period (concerns about crime, loss of political control and economic opportunities, and school desegregation) also occurred in the American South, during the early post-segregation period. Additionally, research indicates that each of the

perceptions had an identifiable impact on intra-urban population movements and commercial landscape patterns. For instance, O'Sullivan (1993), Gray and Joelson (1979), and Thaler (1978) quantitatively identified a link between crime and property values, while Joondeph (1998) and Schuler (1998) noted that crime can be a precipitating factor in economic flight. Clotfelter (1975, 1976, and 1979), Clark (1991), and Synnott (1989) identified concern about education quality as a cause for economic flight within desegregation environments. Aiken (1987, 1990, and 1998) noted the importance of political control as a factor in decisions such as municipal underbounding, site selection for new residential development, and white outmigration in the post-segregation era. Economic impacts of desegregation-related legislation and policies have become increasingly debated in recent years (Beckwith and Jones 1997).

Probable Impact of Perceptions on Wilmington

Given that Wilmington was an exemplar of a typical American South city during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, it is likely that its population shared the perceptions which academic research has

indicated were present in other parts of the American South. Additionally, the results from Chapter Five indicate that opportunities and attitudes which resulted from successes of the civil rights movement possibly influenced population movements (as measured in this study by changes in real estate activity and real estate values) which occurred in Wilmington during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods. Assuming that attitudes which resulted from the civil rights successes shaped Wilmington's patterns of population movements, were any of the perceptions factors in precipitating these patterns, and if so, which was the most important?

Unlike South Africa where the concern over crime was the only perception among the three discussed which was likely to cause people or businesses to relocate, in the American South, concern over school desegregation was likely the dominant factor behind any race-related residential movements. The confluence of racial prejudice and the search for high-quality education as a precipitator of population movement in the American South after the demise of segregation should not be understated. Clotfelter (1975, 1979) found that racial desegregation of education in the American South decreased the demand for

and the price of central city housing. He noted that each 10 percent increase in blacks in local public schools resulted in a 4.7 percent decrease in nearby housing values. Clotfelter (1976) and Giles, Gatlin, and Cataldo (1975) discovered that implementation of school desegregation resulted in increases in private school enrollment by whites. The tipping point for significant white student outflows was when black enrollment in a school reached 30 percent.

Why was school desegregation such an important factor in precipitating intra-urban population movements in the American South? The answer involves two issues: (1) perceptions of white parents, and (2) school enrollment policies. O'Sullivan (1993) found that some white parents were unwilling for their children to be educated with blacks because of overt racial prejudice or concerns that black children had lower achievement levels than whites. Compounding this attitude was traditional American educational policy which dictated that where a student was enrolled was based on the place of residence. Increasing enrollment of blacks in local schools left white prejudicial parents with two options: (1) move to a different public school district, or (2) enroll their

children in private institutions.

While Supreme Court decisions in cases like *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950), and *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) paved the way for racial desegregation of America's public schools, the actual process occurred over several decades and only began in Wilmington in 1968 with the closure of the city's formerly all-black Williston High School. Williston, like Wilmington's historic black majority neighborhoods, was situated in the city's Central Subregion. While its closure precipitated integration throughout Wilmington's entire public school system, it had the most notable impact of leading to significant integration for the formerly all-white New Hanover County High School, also situated in the Central Subregion. For parents who did not wish to send their children to New Hanover County High School, several options existed, which were John Hoggard High School, a public school that opened in 1968 along the edge of the Inner Eastern and Outer Easter subregions, Lakeside High School, an existing public school located within the Southern Subregion, Cape Fear Academy, a private school that opened in 1966 within the Outer Eastern Subregion, and

Wilmington Christian Academy, a private school that opened in 1969 along the edge of the Northern and Outer Eastern subregions (Wilmington Municipal Directories 1967, 1969, 1970).

Evidence supports the premise that concerns about desegregation shaped changes in Wilmington's patterns of real estate activity and real estate values during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods. Patterns of change in real estate activity and values identified in Chapter Five indicate that the neighborhoods within which these schools were found were among the fastest growing and suburbanizing during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods, while the Central Subregion neighborhoods surrounding New Hanover County High School experienced some of the largest drops in real estate activity and values between the periods. The fact that racial variables correlated higher than non-racial variables with changes in real estate activity and real estate values adds credence to the notion that factors resulting from civil rights successes shaped patterns of suburbanization during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods. The concern among whites about the desegregation of schools was a possible precipitator of an

intra-urban population shift.

Beyond concerns about school desegregation, did fears about increasing crime or decreasing economic opportunities and political control shape Wilmington's patterns of change in real estate activity and real estate values during the late segregation and early post-segregation periods? Those perceptions were less likely to precipitate change.

In the case of crime, the start of the post-segregation period did not result in a concurrent explosion in crime in the American South the way it did with the start of the post-apartheid period in South Africa. Additionally, work done by Joondeph (1998), Schuler (1998), O'Sullivan (1993), Gray and Joelson (1979), Clotfelter and Seeley (1979), and Thaler (1978), to name a few, while identifying increasing crime as a precipitator of economic flight, primarily distinguish the problem as occurring in the central cities of large metropolitan areas rather than in smaller communities, such as Wilmington.

Likewise, concerns about loss of political control probably did not play a role in shaping Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate activity and real estate values during the early post-segregation period. Aiken (1998: 327-328) noted that population flight occurred from

black-majority communities in the American South during the post-segregation era due to panic among whites that blacks would gain political control using rights restored by the 1965 Voting Rights Act. However, such fears were probably not common among Wilmington's whites because the city had a minority, though sizable, black population, unlike the black-majority Delta Mississippi area studied by Aiken. Additionally, if such concerns had existed among a portion of Wilmington's whites, the resultant migrations likely would have been inter-regional rather than intra-urban, since voting would effect policies citywide and therefore moving to a different neighborhood would not alleviate concerns among whites about the increased political power of blacks. Therefore, such concerns were not likely to impact Wilmington's patterns of suburbanization.

Finally, concerns about affirmative action probably did not impact Wilmington's changing patterns of real estate activity and real estate values during the early post-segregation period. Connerly (1997) and Lynch (1997) argued that significant numbers of American whites after the demise of segregation were frustrated by what they perceive as economic and social reverse discrimination due to civil rights policies begun during the late segregation

and early post-segregation periods, including affirmative action begun in 1965 by Executive Order 11246. However, Lynch noted that whites often believed their frustration was unsolvable, or at least not worth trying to solve, because of powerlessness against the federal government and fear of being labeled racist. Additionally, since affirmative action was created at the federal level of government, one's residential location throughout the United States should not matter given that individuals would have been equally impacted by affirmative action wherever they lived. Therefore, such concerns should not have impacted Wilmington's patterns of change in real estate activity and real estate values.

Chapter 8: The American South as a Road Map to South Africa's Future or a Divergence of Paths?

> This is a time for truth and frankness. The next four years will not be easy ones. The problems we face will not solve themselves. They demand from us the utmost in dedication and unselfishness from each of us. But this is also a time of greatness. Our people are determined to overcome the handicaps of the past and to meet the opportunities of the future with confidence and with courage. (Carter 1971)

Jimmy Carter's 1971 inaugural address for Georgia Governor clearly indicates the condition of the American South during the early post-segregation period. In the address, he went on to say that:

> the time for racial discrimination is over. Our people have already made this major and difficult decision, but we cannot underestimate the challenge of hundreds of minor decisions yet to be made. Our inherent human charity and our religious beliefs will be taxed to the limit. No poor, rural, weak, or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice (Carter 1971).

Just as the American South was attempting to begin a new

era in the 1950s and 1960s with the dismantlement of *de jure* segregation, South Africa thirty years later was in the midst of starting a similar journey as it worked to rid itself of apartheid. But do these journeys, though beginning with similar origins, lead to the same destination? This chapter will attempt to answer that question by reviewing what has been learned in this study and what these findings will likely mean for the futures of the American South and South Africa.

Summary of Dissertation Results

Chapters Two through Four identified that the American South and South Africa share a number of historical characteristics, of which the most important is a more than 300-year legacy of racial domination and discrimination by whites against blacks. By the mid- to late 20th century, this legacy had facilitated the creation of geographic landscapes and characteristics in which the American South's and South Africa's populations were highly segregated by race, and racial groups varied dramatically in terms of per capita income, median levels of education, and other social characteristics. This legacy also gave rise to civil rights and anti-apartheid movements which, by

the 1950s and 1960s in the American South and the 1980s and 1990s in South Africa, resulted in legal and political watersheds that enabled the process of dismantling *de jure* segregation in each place to begin.

Chapters Five and Six identified patterns of real estate activity, real estate values, and business location change during the late segregation and early post-segregation period and correlates to those patterns of change in the cities of Wilmington and Bloemfontein, communities that were identified in Chapters Three and Four as typical of the American South and South Africa during these periods. Results indicated that, in addition to racial segregation, the cities shared several intra-urban patterns, including:

1. Landscape patterns in which businesses, real estate activity, and high real estate values were disproportionately located in the CBD and few businesses, little real estate activity, and low real estate values were disproportionately located along the city edges.

2. Patterns of change during the transition from *de jure* segregation to post-segregation periods in which increases in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses disproportionately occurred in historically white suburban neighborhoods, while declines disproportionately occurred in the CBD and in neighborhoods historically housing large black populations.

However, notable differences in intra-urban patterns were also observed, including:

1. Patterns of growth and decline in real estate activity, real estate values, and locations of businesses occurred in different types of historically white suburban neighborhoods. For instance, in Wilmington, real estate activity growth in historically white suburban neighborhoods was disproportionately situated in communities relatively distant from the CBD, while in Bloemfontein, a mixture of historically white suburban neighborhoods both relatively distant and proximate to the CBD experienced growth. Likewise, in Wilmington, real estate value growth in historically white suburban neighborhoods occurred primarily in areas in proximity to the CBD, while in Bloemfontein, once again, a mixture of historically white suburban neighborhoods experienced growth. Finally, in Wilmington, growth in business locations occurred primarily in areas in proximity to the CBD, while in Bloemfontein, growth in businesses occurred in most historically white suburban neighborhoods regardless of distance from the CBD.

2. While patterns of race correlated more strongly with patterns of change in real estate activity and real estate values than non-racial socioeconomic characteristics, the strength of those correlations varied notably between Wilmington and Bloemfontein. In the case of Wilmington, the correlations between patterns of race and patterns of change in real estate activity and real estate values were generally of moderate to moderately weak strength, indicating that factors related to race were probably at least partially driving patterns of intra-urban change in that city (and probably in the rest of the American South as well since Wilmington served as a typical city for the region) during the early post-segregation period. Conversely, in Bloemfontein, the correlations were very weak, indicating that race probably did not play a role in driving intra-urban change in that city (nor in the rest of South Africa, since Bloemfontein

served as a typical South African city) during the early post-apartheid period.

Chapter Seven identified some of the perceptions that were commonly held by segments of the American South and South African populations during the periods immediately following the governmental dissolution of segregation and apartheid. In particular, it was shown that concerns about increasing crime, loss of political control, declining economic opportunities, and school desegregation were on the minds of many in the American South's white population and in South Africa's white, coloured, and Asian communities. Among the perceptions which resulted directly from civil rights movement successes (fears about loss of economic opportunities due to affirmative action, loss of political control, and school desegregation), concern over school desegregation was the factor which likely played the largest role in shaping intra-urban population shifts within Wilmington during the early post-segregation period, therein providing further support to the correlation findings from Chapter Five, which indicated that factors related to race possibly shaped Wilmington's patterns of change in real estate activity and real estate values between the late segregation and early post-segregation

periods. Conversely, in Bloemfontein, among the predominant perceptions which existed among the minority white, coloured, and Asian communities after the end of apartheid, concerns about increasing crime were most likely to impact intra-urban change, and the factors directly resulting from anti-apartheid successes (concerns about loss of political control, affirmative action, and school desegregation) were likely to have little to no impact on intra-urban change, which in turn provides further support to the correlation findings from Chapter Six, which indicated factors related to race probably did not shape Bloemfontein's patterns of change in that period. Additionally, it was noted that, though concerns about crime may have driven population shifts and commercial landscape change during the early post-apartheid period, statistical proof via correlation of this hypothesis would be difficult to obtain because of peculiarities in how the Government of South Africa reports crime statistics.

Collectively, the findings from Chapters Two through Seven paint a picture in which Wilmington and Bloemfontein are in some ways similar to, but in many ways different from, one another during the transition away from segregation and apartheid. Therefore, the results from the

study of Wilmington and Bloemfontein, as exemplars of the American South and South Africa, respectively, indicate that the American South and South Africa, while similar in some respects, were not exact mirrors of one another during their respective transition periods.

The End of Exceptionalism

For much of the 20th century, the American South and South Africa were identified as being exceptional, meaning each differed substantially from neighboring geographic areas with which one would expect them to have many similarities. For instance, one would expect the American South to share more in common with other sections of the United States, such as the Mid-Atlantic region or New England, or South Africa to share more in common with other African countries, such as Zimbabwe or Nigeria, rather than with a geographically distant place. However, for much of the 20th century, many have argued that the American South and South Africa had as much, if not more, in common with one another as they did with more geographically proximate neighbors. In fact, the American South and South Africa shared many historical characteristics, and in particular they shared the lineage of white discrimination against

blacks.

However, it is worth considering whether the American South and South Africa continue to be exceptional when compared to their neighbors or if the demise of segregation and apartheid put the two areas on trajectories to make them increasingly similar to their geographic neighbors. A review of attitudes towards and within the American South and South Africa indicate that the status of both as exceptional places may be coming to an end.

The American South's reputation as a region in which racial discrimination weighs unrelentingly on blacks appears to have subsided in recent years. Racism and discrimination were suitably severe to drive millions of blacks from the American South during the first half of the 20th century in the Great Migration of the 1910s through the 1930s to cities in the northern United States. However, since the start of the post-segregation period, blacks have been returning to the South, and by the 1990s, more blacks were entering the region than leaving it. For instance, an article published on October 31, 2003 in the *Saint Petersburg Times* noted that data from the United States Bureau of the Census showed that 680,000 blacks age five or older moved to the American South between 1995 and 2000,

while only 333,000 blacks left during the same period. According to the article, the largest beneficiaries of newly arriving blacks were the states of Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. Similarly, an article published on June 15, 2003 by *CBSNews.com* indicated that during the 1990s, approximately 3.5 million blacks moved to the American South, more than double the number of blacks that moved to the region during the 1980s.

Likewise, the American South's culture, politics, and economic status are no longer considered unusual or undesirable by Americans in other sections of the United States. Applebome (1996) notes:

> As we move towards the end of the century, Southern values have become American values. Southern politicians lead both political parties, and the South has powered the rightward shift in American politics over the past three decades. The South is far and away the leading area of population and economic growth in America. People in Michigan are listening to country music and parishioners in California are worshiping at Southern Baptist Churches.

Since the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, every United States president, except for Ronald Reagan, was born, raised, or made their careers in the American South, whereas of the previous 14 presidents only two (Wilson and

Johnson) had notable ties to the American South.

Just as exceptionalism of the American South is in decline, the same may also be true for South Africa. Due to its diverse industrial base and relatively high levels of wealth, South Africa since the end of apartheid undoubtedly has remained exceptional relative to its neighbors in economic terms, but on political and cultural fronts, it has become increasingly like its African peers. During the apartheid era, the Government of South Africa was routinely an outcast on the world stage and shunned by its African neighbors. However, since 1994, the country has taken a leading role in African and global affairs. For instance, in recent years, the Government of South Africa has served as a peace negotiator and political moderator of conflicts across Africa including civil wars and domestic instability in countries such as Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cote D'Ivoire, and Zimbabwe. Likewise, South Africa has become a leading provider of United Nations and African Union peacekeeping forces and in recent years has had personnel deployed to Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Sudan. The country was instrumental in the formation of the African Union, is a leader in the Non-Aligned Movement,

and in 2008 was serving as a member of the United Nations Security Council.[1]

The Impact of Racial Composition on Change

Concurrent with this trend of South Africa and the American South towards becoming increasingly similar and intertwined with their geographic neighbors and losing their exceptionalism is the likelihood that they will also become increasingly dissimilar from one another. One of the most important reasons for dissimilarity to grow between the American South and South Africa is the differing racial composition of the two areas. Both have racially diverse populations, but in the case of the American South, the population is majority white, while in South Africa it is majority black. Additionally, the United States as a whole is majority white. While there are subregions within the American South which are majority black and subregions within South Africa which are majority white, the overall difference in racial structure has the ability to increase divergence in a host of ways. For instance, in the American South, with increased

1 The Non-Aligned Movement is a group of governments from lesser developed countries that attempt to speak with one voice on issues to increase their clout relative to the G8 Group of Countries.

enfranchisement of blacks at the end of segregation, the number of blacks elected to political office grew but remained a numerical minority among all politicians, whereas in South Africa, blacks now constitute a majority of elected officials at all levels of government since the end of apartheid. On a related front, efforts to reform schooling and institute more progressive forms of affirmative action have been more successful in South Africa than in the American South. In turn, the ability of blacks to take control of government in South Africa, as opposed to increasing but maintaining a minority presence in government like in the American South, has undoubtedly created more worry about disenfranchisement within portions of South Africa's minority white, coloured, and Asian communities than that which has occurred among whites in the American South.

Coupled with fears about crime, the heightened level of angst over potential political and economic disenfranchisement within South Africa's white, coloured, and Asian communities has led portions of these populations to consider leaving South Africa entirely. Aiken (1990, 1998: 327-328) identified that exoduses occurred from black majority sections of the American South following the end

of segregation over fears by whites of loss of political power. However, in the case of the American South, the fact that the region as a whole is majority white means that an exodus would not necessarily require populations to move very far. In fact, a move from one town to another could suffice. However, in South Africa, such short distance moves generally would not remedy the angst given that political parties supporting black concerns control most levels of government nationwide. Estimates from well-informed sources such as Statistics South Africa indicate that between 55,000 and 500,000 South Africans emigrated from the country between 1994 and 2000, of whom the vast majority were whites and Asians.[2] More importantly to the long-term economic stability of the country, it is estimated that 54 percent who emigrated were from a professional occupation (such as physicians, engineers, accountants, and professors) or a managerial background (Van Rooyen 2000: 29-31 and 37). For example, in the late 1990s, one South African newspaper predicted that soon more South African-born physicians would be living in California than in Cape Town (*Mail & Guardian*, September 18-24, 1998).

2 Estimates vary greatly because of Government of South Africa laws that control the amount of personal property and money emigrants are allowed to take when departing, which has caused large numbers of emigrants to leave unofficially.

In the last few years, commentators have indicated that emigration is creating a skills shortage with the potential to inflict long-term economic harm, and concern about the exodus has been expressed not just by South Africa's minority populations. For example, Nelson Mandela in 1996 stated, "We must stop the brain drain. To think you can just push whites aside is fatal. That's suicide" (Schuler, 1998).

The racial differences between the American South and South Africa also have important cultural implications for the two regions. Since their founding as colonies in the early 17th century until the end of segregation and apartheid, the American South and South Africa were controlled politically and economically by populations with a Western European cultural perspective. Even with the start of the post-segregation period, that pattern continued in the American South. However, in South Africa, a population with an African rather than a European cultural perspective came to power with the end of apartheid. As South Africa and the American South progress into the future, this difference in mindset may be the most important driver in fostering increased divergence between the two areas, as South Africa evolves into more of an

African state than a European holdover.

As F.W. De Klerk was quoted in Chapter One, the election of September 6, 1989, placed South Africa "irrevocably on the road of drastic change." Change was furthered by the 1994 election which enfranchised South Africans of all races for the first time in history. Likewise, the demise of *de jure* segregation in the 1950s and 1960s irrevocably altered the path of the American South. However, while both areas have changed and continue to change, the American South and South Africa will have increasingly fewer similarities in the future as their paths are diverging. The American South has become more integrated into the fabric of the greater United States. As early as the 1970s, perceptions about the American South and white southerners were changing, one example of which was the election to the presidency of the United States of Jimmy Carter, a peanut farmer from south Georgia. In his inaugural address, he urged all Americans to "learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right" (Carter 1977). In much the same way, South African politicians three decades later have urged the country's citizens to forge a new legacy, one

that will be interwoven with other African nations to create a stronger Africa. As noted by Thabo Mbeki in his presidential inaugural address on June 16, 1999:

> The full meaning of liberation will not be realised until our people are freed both from oppression and from dehumanising legacy of deprivation we inherited from the past. What we did in 1994 was to begin the long journey towards the realisation of this goal. ... No longer capable of being falsely defined as a European outpost in Africa, we are an African nation in the complex process simultaneously of formation and renewal. ... We trust that what we will do will not only better our own condition as a people, but will also make a contribution, however small, to the success of Africa's Renaissance, towards the identification of the century ahead of us as the African century. (Mbeki 1999)

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